

1-1-1974

A process for examining cultural relevancy for educational compatibility of the Mexican American in the United States.

Sylvia Alicia Gonzales
University of Massachusetts Amherst

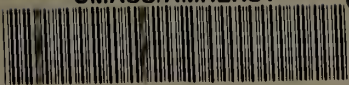
Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Gonzales, Sylvia Alicia, "A process for examining cultural relevancy for educational compatibility of the Mexican American in the United States." (1974). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 2851.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/2851

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

UMASS/AMHERST



312066013292974

A PROCESS FOR EXAMINING CULTURAL RELEVANCY
FOR EDUCATIONAL COMPATIBILITY
OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation Presented

By


SYLVIA ALICIA GONZALES

Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Massachusetts
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1974

Major Subject: Leadership and Administration



(c) Sylvia Alicia Gonzales 1974

All Rights Reserved

A PROCESS FOR EXAMINING CULTURAL RELEVANCY
FOR EDUCATIONAL COMPATIBILITY
OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation

By

SYLVIA ALICIA GONZALES

Approved as to style and content by:



Dr. Robert Sinclair, Chairman of Committee



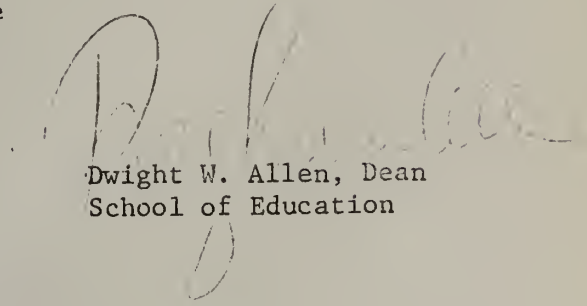
Dr. Emma Cappelluzzo, Member



Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, Member



Dr. Sylvia Viera, Dean's Representative



Dwight W. Allen, Dean
School of Education

MAY, 1974

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation first and foremost to my parents, Nazario and Aida Gonzales, my first and everlasting teachers who have guided me to this accomplishment with the following primary lessons:

Respect for the wisdom of age and experience

An avid interest in people and books

An unquenchable thirst for new and creative interests

A responsibility to develop my abilities to their fullest potential

Ms. Maria Urquides

History's Dean of Bilingual Education

And to those special individuals who have in my professional career given me the confidence, encouragement and support to always seek fulfilling goals:

Mrs. Evaline Schunk

Dr. Delores Brown

Mrs. Richard Harvill

Mr. Robert Reveles

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

|
If acknowledgements were to be made to all those who made the writing of this dissertation a reality, it would require an autobiography. Therefore, I will limit my expressions of deep appreciation to those who have immediately influenced the evolvement and completion of this study.

Special gratitude is expressed to the members of my committee, in particular Dr. Robert Sinclair, Chairman, who was always available for individual assistance and direction. Dr. Emma Cappelluzzo's anthropological background and concern for cultural investigation made her invaluable as a committee member. I graciously appreciate Dr. Sylvia Viera's acceptance to serve as the Dean's Representative. Much credit is due to Dr. Robert Gonzales, my initial Chairman, and Dr. Alfred Merino who directed me through my first year of confusion and administrative red tape. And finally, Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, who not only served as a member of my committee but was a member of the original Consulting Committee which provided the direction for this study, deserves deep and lasting recognition for his contribution to me as a Chicana and to all endeavors which assist La Raza.

With all the wise and concerned counsel, this study would not have been accomplished without the patience, support, understanding, and most important, sacrifice of Bertha Perez who not only encouraged me but also provided me with the strength and confidence to continue this study through many months of poor health. Therefore, whatever successes this endeavor rewards me are also her successes and I most

humbly offer them to her as a token of my appreciation for her selfless patience and sacrifice.

Finally, special recognition is made to the Robert Kennedy Memorial whose original commitment, both spiritually and economically to Chicanos, provided the impetus for this study. The Memorial, under the directorship of Richard Boone and with the cooperation of Interstate Research Associates, was generous and understanding but decidedly firm in seeking ways to secure the rights of Chicano children. On behalf of myself and La Raza, I thank them.

A Process for Examining Cultural Relevancy for Educational
Compatibility of the Mexican American in the United States
(May 1974)

Sylvia Alicia Gonzales

Directed by: Dr. Robert Sinclair

ABSTRACT

This study documented a process for identifying cultural characteristics of the Mexican American population. From the research conducted in this study, a process was developed and advanced as an alternative to traditional social science research techniques and approaches which have supported education for the Mexican American on the basis that the culture is composed of values detrimental to the Chicano child. These biased, traditional methods were identified by social scientists Stephen and Joan Baratz as the Social Pathology Model of cultural investigation. The process outlined in this study described an alternative Cultural Difference Paradigm which is an effort to bring the examination of culture into clear focus.

The steps comprising the Cultural Difference Paradigm included:

- (a) a needs assessment of 111 Title VII Bilingual Programs;
- (b) the formulation of a consulting committee to respond to the needs assessment;
- and (c) identification of culture at the community level which combined the identification of eight cultural categories and the design of a research instrument.

The significance of the Cultural Difference Paradigm as compared to the Social Pathology Model was that the Paradigm originated from a recognition of cultural pluralism and utilized the community in describing itself. According to Baratz and Baratz, the Social Pathology Model emanated from the academic premise of the "melting pot ideology" and derived its conclusions from outside observation. Although both processes used a survey-type instrument, the Model selected its items from society's norms. This study's Paradigm used a community consulting committee in construction of the instrument. This instrument was field-tested with thirty-five Tucson Mexican Americans. A 101 Cultural Inventory Scale yielded a cultural profile of the sample population in the eight categories.

The Cultural Difference Paradigm provided a process which enables education to respond to the Chicano community's needs in a manner consistent with their already viable system of behavior.

This study was intended to attract the attention of educators to a process for collecting cultural information which differs from traditional methods of cultural investigation. The research demonstrated data-collection which could be incorporated into a culturally-democratic school curricula and environment for the Chicano child.

TABLE OF CONTENT

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii

Chapter

I	INTRODUCTION	1
	Statement of the Problem Purpose of the Study Assumptions in the Study Delimitations of the Study Definition of Terms Significance of the Study Procedures Organization of the Dissertation	
II	REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND RELATED LITERATURE	12
	Introduction The Culturally Deprived Summary	
III	DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESS	55
	Research Background Needs Assessment Formulation of Consulting Committee Summary	
IV	INSTRUMENT FIELD-TESTING AND DISCUSSION	67
	Sample Population Instrument Administration Cultural Profile Summary	

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
V	SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	92
	Summary	
	Implications for Education	
	Recommendations for Further Research	
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	105
	APPENDICES	109
	Appendix A: RFK Fellow Questionnaire	
	Appendix B: Barriology Exam	
	Appendix C: Robert F. Kennedy Memorial	
	Appendix D: Biographical Sketches	
	Appendix E: Personal Data Questionnaire	
	Appendix F: Cultural Inventory Scale	
	Appendix G: Model-Paradigm Analysis	

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
2A	Percent of First Grade Mexican American Pupils . . .	39
2B	Mexican American Cultural Membership and Adjustment to School	47
3A	Project Director's Responses	61
4A	Educational Achievement and Expectations	75
4B	Language Retention and Usage	76
4C	Cultural Exposure	77
4D	Medicine	79
4E	Language	80
4F	Religion	82
4G	Customs	83
4H	Diet	85
4I	Home	86
4J	Family	88
4K	Attitudes	90

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
2A	Mexican Restaurant Menu	29
3A	Social Pathology Model	57
3B	Cultural Difference Paradigm	66

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Traditional methods of examining culture provided by the social sciences have not given us the sharpness of focus needed to develop multicultural curricula for schools where a culture such as the Chicano is in close proximity to the Anglo culture and is in competition with it.

For the last thirty years or so, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists have joined in supporting programs in acculturation as they apply to the Mexican American. Nick Baca chronicled theories that explain the poor academic achievement of the Chicano. According to Baca, the theory that has gained acceptance by social scientists was the paradigm that holds that the Chicano culture was composed of values detrimental to the Chicano child. In popularizing this theory, the social scientists used so-called "scientific evidence" for shifting the cause of the genocide of the intellect of generations of Chicano children from the shoulders of guilty educational institutions on the Chicano child. Baca criticizes the leading proponents of this theory: Florence Klukhohn and Fred Strodbeck, Lyle Saunders, Clark Knowlton, William Madsen, Celia Heller and Thomas Carter.¹

¹Nick Baca, "The Mexican American in the Social Sciences," El Grito, Volume IV, Number 2, Spring, 1970, p. 18. See Florence Klukhohn and Fred Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations. New York: Row Peterson and Co., 1961; Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences in Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954; Clark Knowlton, "Patron-Peon Patterns Among the Spanish-Speaking of New Mexico," Social Forces, October 1962; William Madsen, North From Mexico. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968; Celia Heller, Mexican American Youth: Youth Forgotten at the Crossroads. New York: Random House, 1966; Thomas Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Neglect. New York: College Examination Board, 1970.

The common thread that runs through these studies is that the Chicanos' cultural background is the reason for poor academic success.

The most common so-called negative values held by Chicanos are:

1. Subjugation to nature in contrast to a mastery over nature in Anglo culture.
2. Fatalistic, while the Anglo attempts to control his life.
3. Orientation in the present while the Anglo looks ahead.
4. Passivity rather than the Anglo's activity orientation.
5. Un-American because they speak a foreign language while the Anglo speaks English.
6. Dependent on guidance and support by a father or an older brother while the Anglo is individualistic.²

Baca concludes that charging the Chicano culture as the cause of poor academic achievement is consistent with the melting pot theory and stems from a narrow conceptualization of culture.

One must acknowledge that some children may come to school with deficiencies due to the cycle of poverty. Yet, we cannot blame the child's language and culture for his poor academic achievement. Bilingual educators have stressed the importance of continuity between the child's home environment and the environment of the school.

Since his (Chicano) culture is not permitted expression in the classroom, his parents are not able to become active participants in the educational process. This results in a separation of the two worlds in which, as a bicultural person, he must participate: the world of his parents, which is usually very much identified with Mexican or Mexican American values, and the world of school which is usually representative of the value system of the Anglo middle class. These two worlds vie for the child's loyalty. At school, he is told in essence: "If you do not reject the Mexican American culture, you cannot succeed." At home and in the barrios, the appeal is different:

²Ibid.

"If you become Anglicized, you are a traitor; you come to feel you are too good for your people."³

Although a great deal has been said about culture, there is a special need to examine the culture of Chicanos which is in conflict with the culture at large.

Purpose of the Study

The primary aim of this study was to document a process for identifying cultural characteristics of the Mexican American population. It was an effort to bring the examination of culture into clear focus by gathering information regarding eight categories considered to be the primary components of culture in any society.*

Tucson, Arizona was chosen for the target sampling because it represents a microcosm of many Mexican American communities in the United States. Demographic information for this particular population is representative of other areas of high Mexican American populations.

Cultural significance in the areas of Medicine, Religion, Family, Diet, Home, Customs, Language, and Attitudes is described in Chapter IV for the Tucson Chicano community.

Assumptions in the Study

1. It was assumed that because Tucson, Arizona represents a microcosm of most Mexican American communities, the process described

³Manuel Ramirez III, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican American Child," The National Elementary School Principal, 50:45, 46, November 1970.

*The eight areas were determined after much research and is substantiated by a review of the literature in Chapter II.

in this study would be adaptable to other Mexican American communities.

2. It was assumed that the familiarity of cultural items of the Mexican American population of Tucson is compatible with those items on the research instrument and would therefore identify those elements of the Chicano culture most typical of Tucson, Arizona.
3. It was assumed that because Tucson is the home of the researcher, allowing for greater familiarity with the community; the respondents would respond to the instrument more objectively and would be a favorable procedure to follow in replication.
4. It was assumed that the diversified knowledge of the Consultant Committee which composed the research instrument, reflected a wide spectrum of the Chicano culture in the eight categories examined.

Delimitations of the Study

1. A selected portion of the process used in this study was a research instrument which would assist in describing culture. However, the instrument was not:
 - a. A test for discriminating between Anglo and Chicano culture.
 - b. Designed to yield levels of acculturation.
2. The sampling population was limited to Tucson, Arizona.
3. The instrument was not all-inclusive.

This study documents a process for examining culture in a way different from traditional anthropological or sociological approaches. It was intended that the process advanced would further knowledge

regarding Chicano culture rather than define or present value judgments of that culture.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used in the study.

Mexican American -- Persons who were born in Mexico and now reside in the United States or whose parents or more remote ancestors immigrated to the United States from Mexico.

Chicano -- The term Mexican American and Chicano are used interchangeably.

Anglo -- Commonly used in the Southwestern United States to refer to all white persons except those with Spanish surnames; approximately ninety-five percent of all Spanish surnamed persons in the Southwest are Mexican American.

Culture -- A patterned system of tradition-derived norms influencing behavior. In this study, it is defined as the Mexican American culture composed of the determinants of Medicine, Religion, Customs, Diet, Home, Language, Family, and Attitudes.

Bilingual -- Refers to the facility in the use of two languages, ranging from a minimal competency in either language to a high level of proficiency in both.

Bicultural -- Refers to the cultural elements that may include language but go beyond language. It is a functional awareness and participation in two contrasting socio-cultures (statuses, roles, values, etc.).

Research Instrument -- A personal data questionnaire and cultural inventory scale used in this study proposed by the Consultant

Committee as a method for collecting cultural information.

Cultural Inventory Scale -- The multiple-choice portion of the instrument consisting of items used for describing culture.

Religion -- Refers to beliefs or traditions within the Mexican American community directly related to, or in a corrupted version of, the Catholic faith which is the dominate faith within this community.

Medicine -- Refers to folk practices and remedies within the Mexican American community for the cure of illnesses whether the causative factors be internal or external (witchcraft).

Diet -- Refers to dishes or foods and their consistency, most commonly eaten by the Mexican American people.

Customs -- Refers to those habits or traditions retained within the Mexican American community peculiar to and valued by this community. It includes games, dances, holidays, etc.

Home -- Refers to preferences in living, decorative and situational styles of the Mexican American within the physical environment of a house.

Family -- Refers to common traditions and attitudes within the Mexican American family unit and including the extended family, relating to the roles of the members of this family unit to each other.

Attitudes -- In this study, attitudes are limited to items on the instrument reflecting self-perceptions and common-held impressions of the Mexican American community as described in the literature.

Significance of the Study

This study presents a process for observing culture through the documentation of its development and steps used in gathering culturally relevant information.

The study provides data for isolating one culture from another in a complex situation where there is overlapping and domination of one culture over another. It examines issues of culture that are in conflict.

It is particularly significant to bilingual, bicultural educators who have stressed that a culturally relevant curriculum is one that reflects the home and community. This study documents a process for examining the culture of the indigenous community for utilization in schooling and school curricula alteration. This then, provides a relevant process for gathering data about culture which can be used by writers of a socio-psychological curricula for schools.

Procedures

Generation of the Study

A questionnaire was developed and mailed to 111 Title VII ongoing programs reaching the Spanish-speaking child. See Appendix A. Although the programs included areas of high Puerto Rican and Cuban concentration, special attention was given to those serving Chicanos for the purposes of this study. Seventy-one project directors responded to the questionnaire. Data from the responses indicated some of the more important aspects to be investigated as well as techniques and attitudes present in their programs.

Of greatest significance in analyzing these responses was the fact that the majority of project directors felt that there is a difference between the culture of the Chicano either born or raised in the United States and that of his native culture, such as the culture of Mexico. They maintained that this must be taken into account when designing a curriculum allowing for the Chicano's positive identity and ability to function successfully in this society.

Based on the mail questionnaire, it was evident that although all project directors felt that Chicano culture is different from and unique to native Mexican culture, all culture introduced in the classroom is related to or stems from Mexico. Therefore, bilingual, bicultural curricula does not reinforce the Chicano culture of the home, giving it positive worth. Thus, this has negated the environment of the home and community.

A consulting committee was formed consisting of an education administrator, psychiatric social worker, educational psychologist, day care specialist and faculty and students of El Colegio Jacinto Trevino. The purpose of the committee was to review the assessment data, isolate major program needs and decide on an adequate response to cited deficiencies.

It was decided that an instrument designed to identify culture in any particular community would be one method of responding to the problems. The construction of the instrument was based on categories selected by the group as significant determinants of culture. Items of most commonality and familiarity as designated by the group's own experiences were selected. All items purport to have a designated answer as decided by the committee which constructed the instrument, except

those items designed to project attitudes. However, familiarity was to be measured by frequency of response to a choice rather than correctness.

A profile description of the Chicano culture of Tucson, Arizona is presented in Chapter IV dependent on the eight categories of Medicine, Religion, Family, Diet, Home, Customs, Language, and Attitudes.

Sampling

The researcher chose a random sampling of adults within the Mexican American population of Tucson, Arizona. A questionnaire was used to check controls such as length of residency, language usage, educational background and expectations for their children, attitudes toward bilingual education and attitudes toward the Mexican American culture.

Tucson is the dominant city in its sub-region which includes all of Southern Arizona, and, from an economic standpoint, portions of Northern Mexico. It is approximately 120 miles southwest of Phoenix, the state capitol, and sixty-five miles north of Nogales, Arizona on the Mexican border. Most of Tucson's population is "non-native." Many people were attracted there from other states because of climate, the natural setting or for health reasons.

The Mexican American roots of Tucson, a one-time walled pueblo, go very deep. Having been a bit of Spain even before it became an outpost of Mexico, Tucson traces its Spanish beginnings as far back as 1700 when Father Kino began building the historic mission of San Xavier del Bac. Modern-day Tucson counts a substantially higher proportion of Mexican Americans among its population than the state capitol, Phoenix.

The population is approximately forty thousand or sixteen percent of the total population of 243,881 within the city limits. Almost forty percent of the total Chicano population resides within a six square mile area which was designated for Model Cities funds.

These figures account for the fact that fully forty-eight percent of the student body of one of Tucson's high schools--Pueblo High which serves the southwestern part of the city--is Mexican American.

Educationally, within this area, the city of Tucson, Arizona State Employment Study points out that five percent of the heads of households had a high school education or higher, fifty-five percent had less than eight years of education, and thirty-two percent had between nine and twelve years of school; while a 1968 Office of Economic Opportunity Study shows that fifty-three percent of the heads of households in the area had less than a high school education.

Treatment of Data

Findings were analyzed and presented through the use of descriptive narrative and frequency tables. Relationships between the questionnaire and instrument scale's scores are described. The individual's responses were recorded as to frequency of response. Frequency of choice response establishes the cultural base.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter I of the dissertation describes the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions to be observed, the significance and general design of the study. Chapter II presents a review of the literature on the culture of the Mexican American. Chapter III

describes the generation of the study, formulation of the Consulting Committee and the presentation of a model of traditional investigative techniques to be compared with a paradigm of the process advanced in this study. Chapter IV describes the sample population, administration of the instrument, Personal Data Questionnaire and presents a profile of the Tucson Chicano community by each of the eight categories. And finally, Chapter V summarizes the study and makes recommendations and implications for schooling and further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction^{*}

A brief historical background of the Mexican American people is helpful in understanding the basis for its separate ethnic identity within the American "melting pot."

The first white people to migrate into what is now the American Southwest were Spanish-speaking. They came by way of Mexico during the period of Spain's colonial expansion and settled portions of the Southwest even before the founding of the Plymouth Colony. Plymouth was established in 1620, but the first Spaniards settled at Santa Fe, New Mexico, a full eleven years before that--in 1609. By 1680, there were some twenty-five hundred Spanish-speaking settlers in what we now call New Mexico. By 1790, there were an estimated twenty-three thousand Spanish-speaking people in the five Southwestern states covered by this study area. Indeed, the white population of the Southwest--what there was of it--was practically all Spanish. New Mexico had the largest concentration.

But soon after the thirteen colonies gained their independence from England, the migration of English-speaking Americans into the Southwest began. Mexico, its own independence newly-won from Spain, encouraged such migration. This vast Southwestern area, stretching from the

^{*}This introduction is adapted from The Invisible Minority, an NEA publication. See footnote #4.

western border to Louisiana to the Pacific, belonged to Mexico. She was anxious to see it settled and developed, and few Mexican colonists were moving there. So the government of Mexico granted large blocks of land to contractors who would bring in colonists. The response was large and prompt. By 1835, there were twenty-five thousand to thirty-five thousand American farmers, planters and traders in Texas, and more were on the way.

The deluge dismayed Mexico, and she tried to check it. Land grants were cancelled. The Texans became irked, and in 1836, they revolted against Mexican over-lordship and won their independence. Shortly afterward, Texas was admitted to the Union. A dispute broke out between the United States and Mexico over the southwestern boundary of Texas. The result was the Mexican War and the loss by Mexico of nearly all that remained of her northern-most empire. To the United States were ceded much of New Mexico, most of Arizona, the future states of California, Nevada and Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Five years later, the Gadsden Purchase added a strip of land between the Gila River and the present southern boundary of Arizona and New Mexico, completing the American acquisition of what is now the Southwest.

Thus, by one of history's ironies, the majority became a minority. Spanish-speaking people who had been the first whites to settle the Southwest became, if not an alien group, an alienated group. They were Americans, yes, but with a language and culture different from the language and culture of the region in which they found themselves.⁴

⁴National Education Association, Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking, The Invisible Minority, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1966.

Stranger in One's Land^{*}

The San Antonio hearing of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights which probed into the social anguish of Mexican Americans was born in protest and began in controversy.

As the country's second largest minority, Mexican Americans had been virtually ignored by public and private reformers. There was vague realization that they had educational, employment, and cultural problems. But it was felt that language was the basic reason for these problems. And, it was concluded, once this accident of birth was repaired, Mexican Americans would melt into the Caucasian pot, just as Italians, Germans and Poles had.

Then came the black revolution.

It exploded partly from a condition which had been known all along but was now the basis for a black-white confrontation: the color of one's skin was all too important in America. White was good. Black was bad.

Faced with an identity crisis, many young Mexican Americans--excited by black militancy--decided that they had been misled by their elders into apathetic confusion. It came as a shock at first; Mexican Americans felt caught between the white and the black. Though counted as "white" by the Bureau of the Census, Mexican Americans were never really thought of as such. Though the speaking of foreign languages was considered highly sophisticated, Mexican Americans were condemned for speaking Spanish.

The ambivalence felt vaguely and in silence for so long seemed to crystalize in the light of the black revolution. A Mexican American was neither Mexican nor American. He was neither white nor black. What was he then and where was he going? The young, the militant and the angry wanted to know.

When the Commission met in San Francisco in May 1967, Mexican Americans walked out protesting there was not a Mexican American Commissioner to represent them or enough attention accorded their problems.

In October of that year, the U.S. Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs held a hearing in El Paso on the problems of the Spanish-speaking. The hearing, conducted at the same time President Johnson officially returned to Mexico a disputed piece of border land (El Chamizal), ended on a sour note.

^{*} This entire subsection is taken from the Stranger In One's Land. See footnote #5. It is intended to provide a concise, historical background of the Chicano movement.

Governor John Connally of Texas, accused of allowing the use of Texas Rangers to break strikes by Mexican American farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley, was roundly booed and hooted by Mexican Americans in the presence of President Johnson. Because the President was there, the incident was given wide publicity and it marked a rare national exposure of rising Mexican American militancy.

In other areas of the Southwest, the strike-boycott of California table grapes led by Cesar Chavez was becoming a national and international cause. Reies Lopez Tijerina's land grants struggle in New Mexico and its adversaries introduced violence to the movement. There were the high school walkouts in East Los Angeles by Mexican American students, and Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, head of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, was preaching ethnic nationalism. Many Mexican Americans joined the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. in the summer of 1968.

For the first time, many Americans became aware of Mexican American discontent. There was talk now of brown power.

In November 1968, President Johnson named the first Mexican American to the Commission, Dr. Hector P. Garcia, a physician from Corpus Christi, Texas, and founder of the American G.I. Forum. A Commission hearing which would center on Mexican American problems was scheduled for December 9-14, in San Antonio.

Protests helped bring it about. Now the controversy would begin.

Some Mexican American leaders charged that Washington was meddling in something it knew nothing about and so would make things worse instead of better. They felt any problems Mexican Americans might have should be solved locally, by local leadership. The younger and the more militant Chicano leadership retorted that the problems had intentionally been ignored and that national exposure would bring new, more imaginative solutions. Traditional leadership, they claimed, had failed.

These strong points of view, aired publicly before the Commission met, hint at the diversity of thought and feeling found among the some six to seven million Mexican Americans, most of whom live in California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.

There are many splits in the black movement. But there's something the American Negro knows for sure--he's black. He can easily define his problems as a race which make him part of a cohesive force. This is what has forged the beginning of black power in the United States. As yet, most Mexican Americans seem not to identify with any one single overriding problem as Americans. Though they know they're somehow different, many still cling to the idea that Mexican Americans are Caucasian, thus white, thus "one of the boys."

Many prove it: by looking and living like white Americans, by obtaining and keeping good jobs and by intermarrying with Anglos who rarely think of it as a "mixed marriage," to these people, Mexican Americans are assimilating well into white American society. They felt uncomfortable about the Commission's hearing because in their eyes, it would merely tend to continue the polarization of Anglos and Mexican Americans at a time in which they felt it was disappearing.

To many other Mexican Americans, especially the young activists, Mexican Americans have for too long been cheated by tacitly agreeing to be Caucasian in name only. They say they would rather be proud of their Indian blood than uncertain about their Caucasian status. They feel they can achieve greater dignity by identifying with pre-Anglo Mexican Indian civilizations and even the Conquistadores than by pretending that they can truly relate to the Mayflower and early New England Puritanism.

This division of feeling will continue and perhaps widen. The hearing, however, clearly showed that people who are indigenous to the Southwest seem sometimes strangers in their own land and certainly in many ways curiously alienated from their fellow Americans.⁵

The Culturally Deprived*

Although the history clearly delineates the firm roots Mexican Americans hold in the Southwest, it also shows a clear attempt at uprooting these roots both physically and psychologically. My primary purpose in this study is to describe the culture of this group. In order to understand the Mexican American child and provide for his education, it is necessary to understand the community--the language, values and customs of the Mexican American citizen.

Culture is conceived in this study as a patterned system of tradition-derived norms influencing behavior. Each culture selects

⁵Ruben Salazar, Stranger in One's Land, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., May 1970, pp. 1-3.

*Widely used by educators in describing Mexican Americans.

certain conditions of living, certain objects of possession, certain characteristics of personality, as more desirable than others.⁶

The potential of cultural influence in a person's life is all encompassing. Malinowski, who portrays a functionalist orientation, perceives it as the matrix of personality, the ethos of any people. Culture comprises a group's ideas, habits, values, attitudes, and institutions. It possesses physical and material aspects with sanctions in technology and economics. To give the group cohesion and direction; culture provides social institutions, education and political structures; it sets up systems of belief relating men to the universe. Aesthetics is very much an integral part of culture, representing the graphic and plastic arts, folklore, music, drama, and dance. And finally there is language, the symbolism of abstract thought, the vehicle of knowledge, belief, legal systems, and tribal constitutions.⁷

Medicine

Miles Zintz, in his Education Across Cultures, says that traditional health practices among the Mexican American were those that could evolve in any isolated, rural, agrarian group. There were the curanderas who were the general practitioners for certain ailments, the sobadores who were more apt to massage, knead, or set bones, perhaps the equivalent of early chiropractors, and the parteras who were midwives who learned

⁶George D. Spindler, Education and Culture, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, pp. 6, 20.

⁷Marcos de Leon, "The Hamburger and the Taco: A Cultural Reality," Adapted from a speech given at the First Annual Conference on the Education of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles County, May, 1966.

their trade from helping other midwives and from their own experience. If the efforts of the curandera or sobadora did not help, the illness was often diagnosed as being due to bewitchment. Further help was needed in cases of sorcery if such cases were not accepted as punishment from God.

Mal ojo, the evil eye, is still much feared in some places. If an infant is going to be admired and fondled by an adult visitor, the adult must first make a cross on the child's forehead. If he doesn't, the child may become ill or even die.⁸

According to Arthur Rubel, there are four illnesses common to "Mecca," the mixed Mexican American and Anglo community. One of these, the "caida de la mollera" (fallen fontanel) is restricted to infants. The people believe that the skull is virtually egg-shell fragile, and that the frontal portion of the upper skull (the fontanel) is easily depressed by a fall or bump. It is also believed that this portion of the skull is counterpoised by pressure from the upper palate, which depresses when the fontanel sinks, in turn blocking the oral passage. Frequently, the mother does not, nor does anyone else, witness the fall. The first sign of trouble is inability to suckle properly, loose bowels, or unusual crying or restlessness.

Rubel describes that when these signs are noted, the child is usually taken to a curer. Prayers are recited. The child is dipped head-first in a pan of water. A raw egg is rubbed on the suppressed portion of the skull to form a patch to draw upward the fallen fontanel

⁸Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures, Rev. ed., Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1969, pp. 121-122.

and palate. The child is held upsidedown by the ankles and brusquely shaken toward the head. If this treatment is not performed, it is believed the child will die.

It is significant, according to Rubel, that only people of Chicano background are afflicted by this and the other three illnesses; and that it is believed that no technically trained physician can diagnose or treat them. Many of the folk health beliefs, such as mal ojo, susto and empacho are believed in so strongly that if the health worker denies their existence, he is sure to lose the respect of the people he is trying to help. Members of the Mexican American group will seize upon every opportunity to vouch for the authenticity of the condition and its treatment by a native curer.

It is apparent that this is a self-sustaining pattern of belief. It serves to reinforce and maintain the identity of the Mexican American group. It is symbolic of the traditional way of life. It also helps to reduce anxiety about health and illness, since curers are readily available, inexpensive and are familiar people with a friendly, understood role.⁹

Miles Zintz, in Education Across Cultures, describes other folk illnesses within the Chicano community and their cures. Also, other practices and studies can be found in Disadvantaged Mexican American Children and Early Educational Experience.

⁹Arther Rubel, "Concepts of Disease in Mexican American Culture," American Anthropologist, 62:795-814, 1960.

Los Remedios Pa Un Resfrio¹⁰

La gente era los doctores, mi papá era dotor. Si le salía a la gente hinchacónes iban por él y él les partía. A mí me salieron unos hinchacónes en la gáznate y luego él mesmo me partió con un virdio, me sacó la materia y me estubo curando con remedios mejicanos.

Cuando estábamos enfermos del gáznate venía mi aguela y juntaba la rosa de castilla y la molía y la batía con manteca de marrano y azúcar y nos daba que comer.

Cuando tenía un dolor de cabeza juntaba la trementina de piñón y molía remedios y le revolvía, molía alusema, molía albacar y anís, le untaba el remedio a unos papelitos y los carbanos aquí en las piernas y en la nuca.

Cuando uno estaba resfriado o tenía uno tos bebía el agua de poleo, machuacao y jervido, también se daba un baño encontrao con el agua de la mesma yerba, so bañaba las piernas, las rodillas y los brazos y se hechaba agua en la mollera.

Luego se acostaba a sudar le sacaban brazas del fogón las apagaban con agua, las envolvían en una garra y se las ponían sobre el pecho pa que le diera a uno el calor y el vapor. Antonces le molían al-tamisa y le untaban aquí en el pecho y le daban a uno una friega, se ponía uno las manos en la nuca y le pegaban unas buenas sacudidas, le apretaban los huesos recio, y a durmir. Asína sanaba uno.

Religion

According to Miles Zintz, the traditional Mexican American people were Roman Catholic in their religious faith, and completely devoted in their religious practice. They were a humble people, praying often, lighting candles, and making novenas. Contradictory as it may be, there also existed a substantial folklore on witchcraft. Being largely an uneducated people, in a formal sense, they probably did not understand the

¹⁰Tomas Atencio, (ed.) et al., Entre Verde y Seco, La Academia de la Nueva Raza, Dixon, New Mexico, 1972, p. 48. (Dialect and colloquialisms of northern New Mexico.)

basis for much of their religion nor logically analyzed conflicts in their behavior where religion was concerned.¹¹

Edward Cassavantes, in his article "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma," says that the vast majority of Mexican Americans is Catholic. Of course, as is true of any group insofar as it practices a given religion, much of its behavior is influenced by that religion. So, much of the behavior of the Mexican American is allied with his Catholicism. A simple example of this might be the "Dia de Santo," the Saint's Day, where a small feast is planned to honor the Saint on whose day the youngster was born. It is very much like a birthday feast.¹²

Some of the examples of religious practices of the Mexican American include devotive acts to the saints, pilgrimages (mandas) and devotion to our Lady of Guadalupe. Roman Catholic religious practice was modified by many Indian customs, and devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe has had a profound effect upon the Catholic faith.¹³

Zintz continues that it was quite common for people to make special prayers to designated saints for different kinds of diseases, or to promise to make pilgrimages after recovery. These "promises" to make pilgrimages might be made under other circumstances than the usual illnesses. One informant tells that many young men in the war, in the face

¹¹Miles Zintz, op. cit., p. 231.

¹²Edward Cassavantes, "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma," Civil Rights Digest, Winter, 1970, 3:22-27.

¹³Jack D. Forbes, "The Mexican Heritage of the United States: An Historical Summary," Educating the Mexican American, edited by Henry Sloux Johnson and William J. Hernandez, Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1970, p. 49.

of possible grave danger, made promises to make pilgrimages if they were spared.¹⁴

La Fiesta De Maria Santisima¹⁵

En Arroyo Hondo celebrabanos en el verano la fiesta de María Santísima. En la mañanita, juntos con el sol salíanos a pasiar La Virgen por todas las siembras y caminaba el chorro de plebón y gente mayor por entre el trigo sin hacerle nada. Salía la gente a topar La Virgen y la suhmaban con suhmerio, hecho de trementina, igual al incienso de hoy y todas las casitas la ibanos metiendo dende la plaza de arriba hasta la de abajo.

Esa noche después que se caiba el sol la velábanos en la plaza de abajo, entraba la gente y rezaba el rosario, cantaban alabaos y otro día en la mañana la llevaban a la iglesia y le daban una misa.

Luego pa la función de María Santísima el viente y seis de diciembre hacían misa en la mañana y vísperas en la noche cuando tocaban violines y hacían unas lumbradas ajuera. En la mañana del día siquiente le daban otra misa y en la noche hacíanos un bailaso. Bailaban muy bonito la gente los talianes, los enanos, el balse de los paños, el comanche y otros.

Family

The Miles Zintz study in New Mexico found the family to be the moving force in the total Mexican American culture. All the other institutions, religion, communal economy, transmission of culture through education, all these were dependent upon the family as an institution.¹⁶ Margaret Mead says, "To be Spanish is to belong to a familia. La familia means more than parents and their children--it includes grandparents,

¹⁴Miles Zintz, op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁵Tomas Atencio, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁶Miles Zintz, op. cit., pp. 228-229.

brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, of the third and fourth degrees."¹⁷

Dr. Manuel Ramirez administered the Mexican Family Attitude Scale to two hundred Mexican American junior high and high school students. The scale reflects the following values which usually differentiate between Mexican Americans and non-Mexican Americans: (1) Loyalty to the family group, (2) A feeling that relatives, no matter how distant, are more important than friends, (3) Respect for adults, (4) Belief in strict child-rearing practices, (5) Consideration of the mother as the most-loved person in existence, (6) A present-time orientation, (7) A need to defend one's honor, at all costs, whenever threatened.¹⁸

For the Chicano, the family is likely to be the single most important social unit in life. Madsen states that the most important role of the individual is his familial role and that the family is the most valued institution in Mexican American society.¹⁹ It is usually at the core of his thinking and behavior and is the center from which his view of the rest of the world extends. Even with respect to identification, the Chicano self is likely to take second place after his family. Thus to a significant extent, the individual Chicano may view himself much of

¹⁷ Margaret Mead, (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change. New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1955, p. 151. (The study was conducted in New Mexico at a time when the Mexican American called himself Spanish.

¹⁸ Manuel Ramirez, "Identity Crisis in the Barrios," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1972, p. 58.

¹⁹ William Madsen, Mexican Americans of South Texas, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964, Chapters 2-12.

the time as an agent or representative of his family. In many respects, this means that he must be careful of his behavior lest his actions somehow affect adversely on his family bringing them dishonor or disgrace.²⁰

Within the Chicano concept of family, there are two subconcepts. These are the nuclear family, consisting of husband, wife and children and the extended family, which encompasses grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. And, according to Heller, the Mexican American family, persisting in traditional forms, continues to be an extended type of family evidencing strong ties which spread through a number of generations in a large web of kinship.²¹ Due to the patrilineal factor, relatives on the father's side of the family may be considered more important than those from the mother's side. In addition to these members, the extended family concept also includes compadres who are the godparents of the children. For each child there may be a different set of compadres. The relationship between parents and compadres is very similar to that between the parents and other adult relatives where there is mutual respect and interchange of help and advice. The institution of compadrazco or godparenthood extends the range of kinship beyond genetic links. Madsen defines "compadres" as "sponsors who assume carefully defined roles in relation to the other participants in a religious ceremony establishing ritual kinship."²² Ritual kinsmen are expected to respect

²⁰Nathan Murillo, "The Mexican American Family," Paper presented at the Mexican American Seminars, Stanford, California, April 3-4, 1970.

²¹William Madsen, op. cit., Chapter 5.

²²Ibid.

each other and to help each other materially. Padrinos have a social obligation to the child to see that he does not lack the necessities of life, and they are expected to provide goods and money for the child's rearing if the parents are unable to make such provisions. Padrinos will also be chosen for a child at the time of his confirmation and the god-parents of the child's confirmation are the next most important compadres of the child's parents. Compadrazco relationships also may be established at weddings or other occasions, but these are not regarded as significant.²³

Rubel states that the interpersonal relations among parents and children who constitute the nuclear family are usually dictated by clearly defined patterns of deference.

He continues with a pattern that predominates as: "The elder order the younger and the men the women." This establishes two dimensions around which the interpersonal patterns within the family are usually organized. The first is respect and obedience to elders and the second is male dominance. The description of the family pattern in the five paragraphs which follow is based largely on Rubel's work.²⁴

The husband and father is the autocratic head of the household. He tends to remain aloof and independent from the rest of the family. Few decisions can be made without his approval or knowledge. The father represents authority within the family. An important part of his concept of machismo or maleness, however, is that of using his authority within the family in a just and fair manner.

²³A. J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966.

²⁴Ibid.

In relating to his children, the father frequently serves as the disciplinarian. He assumes responsibility for the behavior of the family members in or outside of the home.

During the earlier years, the father is often permissive, warm and close to the children. This changes significantly as each child reaches the onset of puberty. At this time, the father's behavior toward his children becomes much more reserved, authoritarian and demanding of respect.

The wife-mother is supposed to be completely devoted to her husband and children. Her role is to serve the needs of her husband, support his actions and decisions, and take care of the home and children. In substance, she represents the nurturant aspects of the family life. Although she is usually highly respected and revered, her personal needs are considered to be secondary to those of other family members. Her life tends to revolve around her family and a few close friends. There is usually a close continuing relationship between mother and children, which perpetuates throughout her life. In contrast to the father and his relationship to the children, the mother continues to be close and warm, serving and nurturing even when her children are grown, married and have children of their own. Relationships between mothers and daughters and other female relatives are usually especially close, since the female is supposed to have relatively few contacts with others outside the family and so they frequently become the confidants of one another. Sisters are very close, a tie usually maintained even after marriage. The bond between sisters is so strong that sisters' husbands are separated from all other relatives-in-law by a special kinship bond known as the *concuño* relationship.

Among the children there is often less sibling rivalry than in Anglo families--due perhaps to the status each receives from age, sex and family obligation. Children are taught to share, cooperate and work together for the good of all family members. Boys are especially directed to look after and protect their sisters outside of the immediate home environment. This may be a brother's responsibility even when his sister is several years older.²⁵

The Mexican family has been the object of more analysis, praise and criticism than any other aspect of Mexican life--understandably so, since family ties are generally strong and highly valued by the individual. The family remains the single most important reference group for most individuals throughout life. The Mexican (and Mexican American) family has demonstrated a remarkable viability throughout the years and throughout a variety of social conditions. The fact of such stability should give the lie to any myth of uniformity, rigidity, or pathology in Chicano family structure. Any institution so characterized could obviously not endure the tumultuous changes that have rocked both Mexican and American society in the last century. The family, like other facets of the culture, is a dynamic historical entity, and each family unit is to some extent unique, as is its situation.²⁶

"--de la familia--de esa puerta hermosa--salimos al mundo buscando la vereda al camino de la vida--"²⁷

Diet

One of the very strong and distinctive elements of Chicano culture is their diet. By diet, this study is referring to the composition and preparation of foods most common within this community. There exists

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Nathaniel N. Wagner, Marsha J. Haug, Chicanos, Social and Psychological Perspectives, St. Louis, Missouri: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1971, p. 93.

²⁷Tomas Atencio, op. cit., p. 30.

little emperical information on this subject other than cookbooks or romanticized novels such as Chicano by Richard Vasquez and Tortilla Flats by John Steinbeck. However, extensive documentation for the eating habits of the Mexican American can be achieved by visiting the many restaurants of the Southwest. See Exhibit 2A on the following page.

Richard G. Santos, in his essay "From the Inside Looking Around, A Portrait, The Mexican Americans of Texas," categorizes the food of the Mexican American into three types:

1. Non-Mexican, Indian food: tacos and enchiladas (as they are prepared in Texas and the Southwest in contrast to the true Mexican versions), calabazita, menudo, barbacoa, etc.
2. Mexican food: chicken and meat enchiladas, green enchiladas, chilaquiles, pan dulce, machacado, carne asada, etc.
3. Non-Mexican-Mexican American food: (flour) tortillas and (flour) tacos de harina, pinto beans (black-eye and black beans are preferred in Mexico), burritos, nachos, chile-con-carne and carne-con-chile, etc.²⁸

Another reference to the food of the Mexican American is included in the Cross Cultural Attitude Inventory produced by the National Consortia for Bilingual Education, Fort Worth, Texas. The Inventory was developed to test the attitudes of Chicano children to such items as caldo de pollo, tortilla, chile jalapeno, taco, and menudo.²⁹

²⁸Richard Santos, "From the Inside Looking Around, A Portrait, The Mexican Americans of Texas." Unpublished paper, San Antonio, Texas, February-March, 1970, pp. 3-4.

²⁹Steve Jackson and Ron Klinger, Cross Cultural Attitude Inventory, Fort Worth, Texas: National Consortia for Bilingual Education, 1971.

APPETIZERS

BUTTERED TOSTADA55	CHEESE TOSTADA	1.05
		with GREEN CHILE STRIPS	
CHEESE TOSTADA (folded) ..	.65	NACHOS	2 for .60
CHEESE TOSTADA (open) ..	.85	TOASTED CORN TORTILLAS	
		topped with MELTED CHEESE	
		& GREEN CHILE	

SOUPS

MENUDO	1.00	HOMEMADE SOUP35
CAZUELA and TORTILLA..	1.15	ALBONDIGAS and	
		TORTILLA	1.00

Especiales Mexicanos

Chorizo Con Huevos, Beans and Tortilla	1.75
Chicken Topos	2.00
Jumbo Shrimp	1.65
Huevos Rancheros, Beans and Flour Tortilla	2.00
(with our own Special Sauce)	

COMBINATION PLATES

1. RELLENO, ENCHILADA, BEAN TOSTADA AND TAMALES1.70
2. CARNE CON CHILE COLORADO, RICE, BEANS, TORTILLA1.70
3. TACO, TAMALES, ENCHILADA, BEANS AND COFFEE ..1.65
4. CHILE RELLENO, RICE, BEANS, TORTILLA1.65
5. CARNE CON CHILE VERDE, RICE, BEANS AND TORTILLA1.70
6. CARNE SECA, RICE, BEANS, TORTILLA1.75

Atole³⁰

Yo diciendo del maíz
 Y también soy destenguido
 Me usan también en Banquetes
 Ahora lo sabrán Senores
 De mí hacen el Tesguía
 Y también fino licores.

Home

The greatest difficulty in defining Mexican American culture and life-style is the lack of good literature. Only a handful of books have been written by Mexican Americans themselves on the subject. Most of the literature has been written by well-intentioned Anglos. These works, although useful, lack some credibility due to the fact that they were written by observers from outside the Mexican American experience.³¹

For Mexican Americans, a house becomes a home when it provides expression for their family living patterns and life-styles--when it accommodates their individual, immediate and extended family needs for space, security, privacy, and pleasure. . .³²

The Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, in conducting research for their study on Mexican American Housing Patterns, found several trends in the Mexican American life-style which emerged very strongly and which have definite implications for housing:

³⁰Tomas Atencio, op. cit., p. 14.

³¹Dr. Uvaldo Palomares and staff, "The Relationship of Mexican American Living Patterns to Housing Design," Mexican American Housing Patterns, Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, San Diego, California, 1971, p. 10.

³²Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, et al., A Workshop on Mexican American Housing, The Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October, 1971, p. 1.

1. his commitment--both emotional and intellectual--to la raza, his "race";
2. his future orientation to the welfare of his children; and
3. his conception of himself as a member of a poverty group, in spite of his own place on the economic ladder.

Following is a broad summary of the major findings of the study arranged according to the significant living patterns of Mexican Americans studied across the country and the resultant recommendations for housing design.

Major Findings of Research Study³³

"The Relationship of Mexican American Living Patterns to Housing Design"

LIVING PATTERNS. . . as expressed in. . . HOUSING

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Generosity toward extended-family immediate community. | 1. Large living room, dining room, kitchen (in conjunction with each other); large number of bedrooms; proximity to relatives. |
| 2. Life-focus on meal preparation, serving. | 2. Large kitchen-eating area. |
| 3. Maintenance of privacy in neighborhood. | 3. Single-family dwelling; large lot and barriers; low density. |
| 4. Maintenance of privacy within house. | 4. Separation of living from sleeping areas. |
| 5. Focus on family unity. | 5. Single-family housing; family gathering area within design (family room). |
| 6. Maintenance of child-oriented atmosphere. | 6. Outdoor play-space; separate bedrooms; indoor study and play areas. |

³³Ibid., p. 4.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>7. Reliance on individual resources.</p> <p>8. Reliance on resources of immediate (Mexican American) community.</p> | <p>7. Home ownership; participation in, and support of, self-help housing programs; resentment of welfare-oriented programs.</p> <p>8. Membership in community organizations, participation in community groups and indigenous programs; ownership of local businesses.</p> |
|--|---|

The Palomares study refers to certain family variables such as the form of the family (nuclear), respect to individual family members and kin, the value attached to their domicile, and respect to the patterns of living they exhibit which are influenced by three sets of variables: socioeconomic status, the stage of life reached by the family, and/or the geo-cultural area in which the family relates.

The housing variables conceived by the IPFC Study were:

1. community/tract arrangements;
2. external setting:
 - a. multi-unit layouts,
 - b. placement on lot and landscaping;
3. external configuration of the domicile;
4. construction methods and materials;
5. room arrangement and floor plans;
6. decor, including:
 - a. color schemes,
 - b. floor coverings,
 - c. wall and ceiling surfaces;
7. desired incidentals, such as:
 - a. built-ins,

- b. mechanical components,
- c. closets, etc.

Although the study has much interesting information on all of the above, which definitely fills in an enormous gap in this area; however, for the purposes of this study, general references are made only to those conclusions dealing with preferences in design and physical appearances of the Mexican American home.

It was decided from the Palomares study that there is no "Mexican American house." However, the Mexican Americans interviewed tended to want to cling strongly to their racial-ethnic heritage. This pattern emerged in the desire for a house or a community to reflect a "Spanish style" as in the use of adobe as a material and the stylizations in design such as red tile roof, the use of arches and iron grill-work, and the inclusion of patios.

Extended family patterns among the population under study also tended to dictate a large number of bedrooms and places of entertainment within the house, and much entertaining of immediate and extended family from the community seems to be a part of daily life.

The study found that the preparation and serving of meals constitutes an area of real attention in the Mexican American homes. The kitchen was often the central focus of activity, and most people interviewed preferred large kitchens.

Very often, the arrangement of kitchen, dining room and living room received particular attention, suggesting that this was a vital cluster of rooms for family activities.³⁴

³⁴Dr. Uvaldo Palomares and staff, op. cit., pp. 1-47.

Robert Ramirez, in "The Woolen Sarape," describes the barrio and in doing so, gives us a brief description of some of the aspects of a Mexican American home.

The color-splashed homes arrest your eyes, arouse your curiosity, and make you wonder what life scenes are being played out in them. The flimsy, brightly-colored, wood-frame houses ignore no neon-brilliant color. Houses trimmed in orange, chartreuse, lime-green, yellow, and mixtures of these and other hues beckon the beholder to reflect on the peculiarity of each home. Passing through this land is refreshing like Brubeck, not narcoticizing like revolting rows of similar houses, which neither offend nor please.

In the evenings, the porches and front yards are occupied with men calmly talking over the noise of children playing baseball in the unpaved extension of the living room, while the women cook supper or gossip with female neighbors as they water their jardines. The gardens mutely echo the expressive verses of the colorful houses. The denseness of multi-colored plants and trees gives the house the appearance of an oasis or a tropical island hideaway, sheltered from the rest of the world.

Fences are common in the barrio, but they are fences and not the walls of the Anglo community. On the western side of town, the high wooden fences between houses are thick, impenetrable walls, built to keep the neighbors at bay. In the barrio, the fences may be rusty, wire contraptions or thick green shrubs. In either case, you can see through them and feel no sense of intrusion when you cross them.³⁵

"¿Onde es tu casa? ¿Onde la pasas, No onde naces."³⁶

Customs

Some of the habits or institutions considered customs, within the Chicano culture, are the "abrazo", "siesta", "la piñata", "quincien-
era", holidays, etc.

³⁵ Robert Ramirez, "The Woolen Sarape," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: New American Library, Inc., 1972, p. 43.

³⁶ Alberto Lovato, "A Tu Tierra, Grulla, Porque Esta No Es Tuya," La Madrugada, Volume 1, Number 1, Dixon, New Mexico: La Academia de la Nueva Raza, 1972.

Frances Toor, in her book entitled A Treasury of Mexican Folkways, describes the customs, myths, folklore, traditions, beliefs, fiestas, dances, and songs of the Mexican people. The book is an encyclopedia of Mexican history and although it is packed with useful information and rich with good reading and human interest, only parts reflect the customs of the Mexican American people of the Southwest who have been living within another society.

Among the customs mentioned in Ms. Toor's book, a piñata is described as a clay jar, filled with sweets and toys, covered with a papier-mache figure and broken by someone blindfolded during the posada fiestas. She expands heavily on the music of Mexico:

There are great quantities and many varieties of songs. They fall into several classes and a sufficient number are published here to illustrate all of them. . . . There are love songs for special occasions; "Las Mananitas" for birthday serenading in the wee hours of the morning.

The famous marachi of Mexico is identified in Ms. Toor's book as an itinerant folk orchestra.

Descriptions of Mexican holidays in Ms. Toor's book relate directly to Mexico rather than the Southwestern United States.

The Mexican Independence celebrations, September 16, have some unique features. In Mexico City, Avenida Madero--the principal street leading to the Zocalo--is closed to traffic early on the night of the fifteenth. From then until midnight, it is filled with gay pedestrians, who frighten you by blowing horns or throwing confetti into your face. . . .³⁷

However, there is some similarities in her descriptions especially in cities which are close to the border.

³⁷Frances Toor, A Treasury of Mexican Folkways, New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., April 1971, pp. 234, 556.

Biculturalism is one of the areas of emphasis in the projects as part of the curriculum. This is followed up with a history of Mexico to New Mexico. The child is taught the importance of historical and cultural events leading to his present-day situation. The non-Spanish-speaking child also learns about the culture of the Mexican people and comes to regard it as important and worthwhile. The previously mentioned Parent Story Collection (two volumes) is also used to teach the child about his parent's background and culture. The stories deal with areas like Pancho Villa, "Las Posadas", Making Adobes, Christmas in Mexico, etc.³⁸

We prepared for the district a booklet, "La Primera Navidad" with drawings and captions in Spanish, including the Mexican custom of the "Posadas", regional dances, and songs.³⁹

Don Simón De Me Vida⁴⁰

Ya yo tengo setenta y tres años
No pensaba yo que iba a llegar
Bien me sirve saber los extraños
De costumbres que valieron más
Los costumbres que ahora han llegado
Ay, que estilos señor don Simón

Language

Edward Sapir, in his widely-acclaimed book Language, says that speech is a human activity that varies without assignable limit as we pass from social group to social group because it is a purely historical heritage of the group, the product of long-continued social usage. It varies as all creative effort varies--not as consciously, perhaps, but none the less as truly as do the religions, the beliefs, the customs, and the arts of different peoples. Speech is a non-instinctive, acquired, "cultural" function.⁴¹

³⁸Sylvia Gonzales, RFK Questionnaire, Robert Kennedy Memorial, Washington, D.C., 1972.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Tomas Atencio, op. cit., p. 88.

⁴¹Edward Sapir, Language, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949, p. 4.

Languages, according to Sapir, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves. The necessities of intercourse bring the speakers of one language into direct or indirect contact with those of neighboring or culturally dominant languages. The intercourse may be friendly or hostile. Language has a setting. The people that speak it belong to a group which is set off by physical characteristics from other groups. Again, language does not exist apart from culture; that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determine the texture of our lives. Languages may spread far beyond their original home, invading the territory of new races and of new cultural spheres. A language may even live on among peoples violently hostile to the persons of its original speakers. Further, the accidents of history are constantly rearranging the borders of culture areas without necessarily effacing the existing linguistic cleavages. Language is constantly reshaping itself as is all art. Language is the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous work of unconscious generations.⁴²

Woods states that we can tell much about a culture by its language.⁴³ Saunders refers to aspects of language differences in his report of Spanish-speaking people and the acceptance of modern medical care. He reminds us that what a person sees, what meaning it has for him, and how it is related to other phenomena are determined by the concepts he has, and these, in turn, are learned from the social group into

⁴²Ibid., pp. 192, 208, 220.

⁴³Sister Francis Jerome Woods, Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956, p. 34.

which he is born and in which he lives. Concepts are represented by verbal symbols, but the verbal symbols are conditioned by the culture. In English, the clock runs; in Spanish, it walks. In English, one says he missed the bus; in Spanish, he says the bus left him. If dishes break by falling away from people, and if objects lose themselves, the way language says something may be revealing the way people in a culture view such a value as responsibility.⁴⁴

To understand the Mexican Americans' retention of language, within a different language and culture context, a study made in 1965 in San Antonio, Texas yielded these results: Six hundred Mexican American adults were interviewed in San Antonio, and it was found that seventy-one percent of husbands and wives spoke only Spanish to each other. Among the grandparents, ninety-four percent spoke only Spanish to their children and eighty-nine percent spoke only Spanish to their grandchildren.⁴⁵

Little information is available indicating the extent of language difficulties experienced by the Mexican American child in the schools of the Southwest. Until the Commission on Civil Rights' Spring 1969 Survey, few, if any, facts had been gathered which indicated the proportion of Mexican American children who spoke only Spanish or who spoke some English but for whom Spanish remained the first language. The Commission's Survey sought to fill this gap by collecting information on the number of Mexican American first-graders in each school who

⁴⁴Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966.

⁴⁵National Education Association, op. cit., p. 8.

did not speak English as well as the average Anglo first-grader in the schools. See Table 2B.

TABLE 2B⁴⁶

Percent of First-Grade Mexican American Pupils
(who do not speak English as well as the
average Anglo first-grade pupil)

<u>State</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Arizona	30%
California	36%
Colorado	27%
New Mexico	36%
Texas	62%
Southwest	47%

Yet, Horacio Ulibarri describes the Mexican American, who because of pressure to acculturate, loses much of his dexterity in the native language. Therefore, the bilingual individual, because of having forgotten or because of having stunted his development in his native language, finds himself more proficient in English than in his native language. Thus, most of the time he has to use English mixed with his native dialect in order to communicate.⁴⁷

⁴⁶U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mexican American Educational Series: Report III, The Excluded Student, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 1972, p. 14.

⁴⁷Horacio Ulibarri, Bilingual Education: A Handbook for Educators, Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico, College of Education, 1970, pp. 248-249.

In some areas, this is referred to as Spanglish:

I am certain there is (difference between Mexican American and native Mexican culture). . . . The simple fact that the Chicano has developed a whole new language that I call Spanglish with its own internal consistency, logic and integrity is clear evidence of this.⁴⁸

In relation to Spanglish, Perales speaks of the limited Spanish vocabulary that requires borrowing from an equally limited English vocabulary to complete his expressions; and the use of Pochismos: English words given a Spanish pronunciation and meaning. Regarding the first area, students may use such expressions as "yo le dije que I wouldn't do it" (I said to him that I wouldn't do it) and "El fué, but I stayed en la casa" (He went, but I stayed in the house).⁴⁹ Holland explains this linguistic borrowing in this manner: due to their environment, Mexican American children develop only a small basic vocabulary of Spanish words and concepts which are directly related to restrictive in-group references.⁵⁰

Concerning the second area cited by Perales, the native speaker of Spanish in an English-speaking environment may give an English word a Spanish pronunciation and meaning when speaking his own native language. For instance, the Spanish-speaker may use the word "huachar" (from the English word to watch) instead of the correct Spanish verb

⁴⁸Sylvia Gonzales, RFK Questionnaire, op. cit.

⁴⁹P. M. Perales, "The Audio-Lingual Approach and the Spanish-Speaking Child," Hispania, Volume 48, March 1965, pp. 92-102.

⁵⁰W. R. Holland, "Language Barrier as an Education Problem of Spanish-Speaking Children," Exceptional Children, Volume 27, September 1960, pp. 42-44.

mirar, or chuzar (from the English verb to choose) instead of the correct Spanish word escoger.⁵¹

However, Macias feels that one of the educational objectives of the movement should be mentioned in this context. This is to promote the use of "Pocho" (a mixture of Spanish, English and some unique elements) in literary circles. Chicano and Latino artists have now recognized Pocho, with its Pochismos (idioms of Pocho), as a truly artistic and expressive bastard tongue. Moreover, it expresses the Chicano better than either Spanish or English and should be preserved and expanded.

Accordingly, Macias continues, throughout the great Aztlan (U.S. Southwest), Chicanos express themselves daily in their native tongue, Pocho, and continually seek new ways of reviving, maintaining and enriching the Chicano culture.⁵²

Sylvia Gonzales, in her essay "La Chicana in Literature," says:

The one saleable advantage of the Chicano which sets him apart from other groups is the ability to communicate in two languages. The Chicano has created an entirely new idiom in poetry and this is manifested in the bilingual poems. It carries with it all the many doubts and fears of the child in the barrio, his first day of school, as he approaches the school entrance speaking a conglomeration of Spanish and English. It projects the dual culture of the barrio with its entwining streams of distinct thought processes. The Chicano has learned to capitalize on this dualism and project the spirit of pride in this tremendous gift to the people. . .⁵³

⁵¹P. M. Perales, op. cit.

⁵²Ysidro Macias, "The Chicano Movement," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: New American Library, 1971, p. 139.

⁵³Sylvia Gonzales, "La Chicana in Literature," La Luz, Volume 1, Number 9, January 1973, p. 52.

Many Mexican American publications have promoted this literary novelty of the Chicano and are often referred to as dictionaries of current Mexican American Spanglish or Pochismos.

On Tenement walls we could see scribbled down messages, as if they were talisman's indicted to providence--to a god who might care more for the suffering christ the Catholic church had designed to give Chicanos: "El hemen del 2nd, Con/Safo 1952." "el alacra, 1953, C/S". . .⁵⁴

Attitudes

Although this study will deal primarily with attitudes of the Mexican American resulting from their confrontation with a dominant and hostile society, the following contrasting, inherent differences in the Anglo and Mexican American value systems are presented from Zintz to serve as the foundation from which these perceptions develop.

American school teachers are sure to place great value on these practices.

Children from traditional Spanish-speaking families may be said to have accepted these general patterns.

Language. The language of the school is English; almost all teachers are unilingual.

Language. The language of the people is Spanish, and is rooted strongly in the whole syndrome of beliefs, values and practices. Sometimes there is no word in the second language that means exactly the same thing.

Mastery over Nature. Man must harness and cause the forces of nature to work for him.

Subjugation to Nature. An often observed reaction in the traditional Spanish American was, "If it's God's will."

Future Time Orientation. All living in our society is future oriented.

Present Time Orientation. For the traditional Spanish American family, the only important goal of life was going to heaven after death. One only passed through this temporal life to receive his "reward" in the next.

⁵⁴Ricardo Sanchez, Canto y Grito Mi Liberacion (y lloro mis desmadrazgos), El Paso, Texas: Mictla Publications, 1971.

Status and Prestige. One acquires status for what he does. The value is on climbing the ladder of success.

A Universalistic Approach. Do what is best for the common good, without regard to one specific individual.

Affectively neutral. The doctor looks at himself first as a doctor and secondly as a friend of the patient.

Level of Aspiration. Climb the ladder of success. Success is measured by a wide range of superlatives; first, the most, the best.

Work. Success will be achieved by hard work.

Saving. Everybody should save for the future. "A penny saved is a penny earned." "Put something away for a rainy day". . .

Adherences to Time Schedules. "Take care of the minutes and the hours will take care of themselves." In practice, we have become so enslaved to time schedules, we might be termed "clock watchers."

Acceptance of Change. Change, in and of itself, is accepted as modal behavior.

One Had Status for Who He Was. This assigning status on ascription was dependent upon family lineage.

A Particularistic Perspective. A businessman looks first at himself as a brother to the man who is asking for credit; secondly, as a businessman who is dealing with a customer.

Emotional Response Is Involved. The curanderas and sobadores visited with the family, drank tea, and consulted with the family before diagnosing symptoms. This friendly warmth made the impersonal nature of Anglo doctors unacceptable to the families.

Level of Aspiration. "To work a little, rest a little." Follow in one's father's footsteps. Be satisfied with the present.

Work. Work to satisfy present need. The Spanish American was particularistic in nature. He operated on emotional response rather than subordinating the individual to the societal institution.

Sharing. Traditional pattern included sharing with the extended family group. In cultural transition, Spanish Americans suffered considerable economic poverty. Those established in the dominant culture accepted Anglo values in sharing.

Adherence to Time Schedules. The expression for the "clock runs" translated from Spanish is the "clock walks." It has been said that this explains the "manana" attitude which Anglos have observed in Spanish Americans.

Reaction to Change. We may follow in the old ways with confidence.

Scientific Explanation for all Behavior. Nothing happens contrary to natural law. There is a scientific explanation for everything.

Non-Scientific Explanation for Natural Phenomena. Witches, fears and non-scientific medical practices could be used to explain behavior.

Competition. Aggression. One competes to win. Winning first prize all the time is a coveted goal.

Humility. Acceptance of the status quo. Submission, might categorize behavior.

Individuality. Each individual shapes his own destiny. Self-realization for each person is limited only by his capacities to achieve.

Obedience. The Catholic Church kept life routinized, placed emphasis on obedience to the will of God.⁵⁵

The above study is perhaps somewhat outdated in some of the items cited. For example, it appears that at the present time, witchcraft is more popular among the Anglo than the Mexican American. The researcher does not necessarily agree with all the interpretations made of these values, but feels that in general, they describe quite adequately differences in Anglo and Mexican American values.

Over the past two decades, extensive research has been conducted in the Border and Southwestern states in an effort to obtain the stereotypes of the Mexican American held by the Anglo American population.⁵⁶ Edward Cassavantes, in his article "Pride and Prejudice," says that it is clear that the main element which acts as a barrier to the full development of the Mexican American is prejudice. Some of this prejudice arises directly out of the acting-out of felt stereotypes. . . .

⁵⁵Miles Zintz, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

⁵⁶Anthony Gary Dworkin, "Stereotypes and Self-Images Held by Native-Born and Foreign-Born Mexican Americans," Sociology and Social Research, Volume 49, 1965, pp. 214-224.

Other discriminating practices are simply the result of obvious racist attitudes. When some or both of these are found in our schools, and deter or impede the adequate education of Mexican American children, forceful and decisive steps must be taken to eliminate them. For it is the school that offers the single best path out of poverty for the vast majority of Mexican Americans.

Cassavantes continues, while racism and prejudice have no place in any part of our country, the practice is especially contemptible in American schools, for it is these very institutions that, with "forked tongue," teach the story of democracy and equal opportunity and then act out patterns of individual and wholesale discrimination.

Secondly, prejudice and discrimination in the schools are especially contemptible because they communicate to a child; that is, to an as yet not fully developed organism--feelings that suggest to him he is inferior, a notion that is false.⁵⁷

Theodore W. Parsons, in his doctoral dissertation to Stanford University, described the following:

A teacher, asked why she had called on "Johnny" to lead five Mexicans in orderly file out of a schoolroom, explained: "His father owns one of the big farms in the area and. . . one day he will have to know how to handle the Mexicans." Another teacher, following the general practice of calling on the Anglos to help Mexican pupils recite in class, said in praise of the system: "It draws them (the Americans) out and gives them a feeling of importance."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Edward Cassavantes, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

⁵⁸ Theodore W. Parsons, "School Bias Toward Mexican Americans," School and Society, Volume 94, November 12, 1966, pp. 378-380.

Other examples of the above can be found in numerous other references including the Excluded Student and Teachers and Students, reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

In general, the following research indicates that feelings of prejudice and racial group identification are fairly well established by the time a child enters kindergarten or by the age of about five years.

Structured doll-play interviews were conducted with forty Mexican American children aged four and five years old to explore where and when skin color discrimination and the evaluation of color differences occur. The study attempted to determine whether discrimination and evaluation occur simultaneously and whether they were functions of the child's age and sex, or exposure to group participation outside the home. The children tended to group the dolls by sex and size before grouping them by skin color. Evaluation on the basis of skin color occurred at the same time the discrimination was made, "good" dolls being white and "bad" dolls dark. After exposure to school, the doll with which the child identified was white. There was a tendency for boys to perceive the white adult male doll as larger than the dark one of the same size. Major dimensions of good and bad parents and good and bad children were inferred from the children's descriptions of their behavior. Results have been related to comparable studies with regard to Negro and Oriental children and the similarities and differences discussed.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Norma E. Werner and Idella M. Evans, "Perception of Prejudice in Mexican American Preschool Children," Perceptual and Motor Skills, Volume 27, 1968, pp. 1039-1046.

A study was conducted by Manuel Ramirez III, Clark Taylor, Jr. and Barbara Petersen in an attempt to test the hypothesis that there are differences in motives, attitudes and behaviors (particularly as they relate to education) between Anglo American and Mexican American adolescents of the same socioeconomic class. It was further hypothesized that these differences would be related to differences in the value orientations of the two ethnic groups.

Some of the items which differentiated significantly between members of the two groups are listed in Table 2C. These items reflected the differences between the value orientations of the two cultures.

TABLE 2C⁶⁰

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>M-A % Agree</u>	<u>A-A % Agree</u>	<u>X² % Agree</u>
17	It is far more important for a man to get a good education, a woman can always raise a family and do housework.	58.8	45.0	9.8
20	Teachers do not understand the problems of students.	75.4	59.8	13.8
21	Even though a student speaks another language at home, he should not do it at school.	46.4	61.0	10.9
26	One should not question the word of the teacher.	32.1	21.3	7.0
27	Sometimes talking is not enough and you must use your fists to convince someone.	51.4	34.2	15.1
29	It's good to mix only with people of your own kind.	22.6	13.3	6.8

⁶⁰Manual Ramirez, et al., "Mexican American Cultural Membership and Adjustment to School," Developmental Psychology, Volume 4, 1971, p. 141.

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>M-A % Agree</u>	<u>A-A % Agree</u>	<u>X² % Agree</u>
42	If anyone insults me because I am different, I fight.	42.9	23.3	21.0
45	It is hard to take orders from a woman.	41.4	33.3	2.9
49	It is good for parents to put pressure on their children to get as much education as possible.	76.9	52.3	34.0
61	It is more important to get a job as soon as it is available, even though you may not have a high school education.	25.0	15.4	6.7

The findings from the attitude scale supported the prediction made by Ramirez and co-workers that Mexican American (M-A) students will express views on an attitudes-toward-education scale, which are less positive than those of Anglo-Americans (A-A). That is, they will react negatively to the middle class Anglo values which are embedded in the educational system. In addition, the content of those items which differentiated significantly between Ss (samples) of the two ethnic groups supported the hypothesis that attitudinal differences between these two groups were the result of differences between their cultures.⁶¹

I am Joaquin,
 Lost in a world of confusion,
 Caught up in a world of a
 Gringo society
 Confused by the rules,
 Scorned by attitudes,
 Suppressed by manipulations,
 And destroyed by modern society.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 225-226.

My fathers
 Have lost the economic battle
 And won
 The struggle of cultural survival.
 And now!
 I must choose
 Between
 The paradox of
 Victory of the spirit,
 Despite Physical hunger
 Or
 To exist in the grasp
 Of American social neurosis,
 Sterilization of the soul
 And a full stomach.⁶²

Acculturation

The researcher feels that it is necessary to include the process of acculturation with the culture to point out that, although the preceding describes the Mexican American in general, this culture is in transition and this should be recognized in any study dealing with this community.

According to Zintz, the interaction of cultural groups of unequal strength, one dominant, one subordinate, leads inevitably toward more and more people in the minority groups taking their places in the social and economic life of the dominant one. The dominant group controls the economic base, the public health program and the educational program. These institutions offer to the minority groups opportunities for acquiring desired artifacts for present-day living. The problem involves the adaptation of many individuals to new types of living.

Therefore, Zintz continues, the interaction of two social groups in the course of time necessitates a certain amount of exchange of ideas,

⁶²Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, "I Am Joaquin," 1967.

attitudes and practices. To the degree which the exchange causes either group to accept and internalize attitudes and practices of the other, cultural diffusion is said to take place.

However, Zintz feels that the acculturation process that is taking place is predominately one of movement of minority, ethnic groups into the dominant middle-class Anglo culture. For Mexican Americans, this represents a significant evolutionary cultural change from a traditionally agrarian life.

The pressure toward progress and toward the ability to function in a highly technological age make necessary the transition of minority groups to an economy where they can participate in the American way of life.⁶³

Chicanos are subject to conflict of their ideals, not only because of irrational thinking on their part but also because of Anglo-American inconsistencies between ideal and practice. They feel a considerable ambivalence as to the Anglo-American expectation that the only way to achieve full acceptance and equal opportunity is by full incorporation of Anglo-American values and ways of life, for this implies the ultimate loss of their cultural identity as Mexicans. On the one hand, they favor the acquisition of Anglo-American culture and the eventual remaking of the Chicano in the Anglo-American image; but on the other hand, they are not so sure that Anglo-American acceptance is worth such a price. When they are concerned with this dilemma, Chicanos advocate a fusion with Anglo-American culture in which the "best" of the Chicano ways, as they view it, would be retained along with the "best"

⁶³Miles Zintz, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

of the Anglo-American ways, rather than a one-sided exchange in which all that is distinctively Chicano would be lost.⁶⁴

That no definite statement can be made about any total group in transition needs to be emphasized. Within each group one finds a few who are entirely bicultural and who live equally at home in one culture as in another; there are a few who have rejected their traditional culture and who attempt to live entirely within the framework of Anglo values; there are those in transition who attempt to live confidently in the traditional culture but who are accepting many of the artifacts and the need for the money economy of the dominant culture; and there are those who continue to reject the intruding Anglo culture and retain the "old ways."⁶⁵

Regardless of their degree of insulation from the larger society, the demands of life in the United States have required basic modification of the Mexicans' cultural tradition. In material culture, Mexicans are hardly to be distinguished from Anglo-Americans, and there have been basic changes in medical beliefs and practices and in the customs regarding godparenthood. Chicanos have acquired English in varying degrees, and their Spanish has become noticeably Anglicized. Although the original organization of the family has persisted, major changes have occurred in patterns of traditional authority, as well as in child training and courtship practices. Still, it is the exceedingly rare Mexican American, no matter how acculturated he may be to the

⁶⁴Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans," Pain and Promise, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: New American Library, Inc., 1972, pp. 113-114.

⁶⁵Miles Zintz, op. cit., p. 113.

dominant society, who does not in some degree retain the more subtle characteristics of his Mexican heritage, particularly in his conception of time and in other fundamental value orientations, as well as in his modes of participation in interpersonal relations.⁶⁶

Summary

Studies have been done concerning the discriminating examinations that are administered in the various schools, colleges and universities. The tests are not merely applied in relation to subject matter, but are also applied in reference to entrance examinations into institutions of higher learning. One of the determining examinations that has been used in the majority of the schools has been the IQ tests. Chicano students come from a different environment and background that the IQ tests do not measure.⁶⁷

In an effort to try to compensate for their racially biased tests, Anglos have reverted to non-verbal tests that are just as biased. The inadequacy of these performance tests have, in some cases, been noted by test-makers themselves, without arriving at the factor that renders their tests ineffective. One such person is G. B. Johnson, Jr.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ozzie G. Simmons, op. cit., p. 116.

⁶⁷ A. R. Jensen, "Learning Abilities in Mexican American and Anglo American Children," California Journal of Educational Research, Volume 12, September 1961, pp. 147-159.

⁶⁸ G. B. Johnson, Jr., "Bilingualism as Measured by a Reaction-Time Technique and the Relationship Between Language and a Non-Language Intelligence Quotient," Journal of Genetic Psychology, Volume 82, March 1953, pp. 3-9.

Dr. G. I. Sanchez pinpointed the reason for the failure of the array of examinations that the Anglo institutions have applied to the Chicanos: ". . . investigators, proud of their recognition of the 'language handicap' of Spanish-speaking children, have chosen to test these children with 'non-verbal' tests, overlooking completely that the non-verbal tests are as culturally based as the verbal tests and that neither can test what is not there."⁶⁹

The Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children reported in a June, 1970 report that findings in the field research, substantiated by their review of the literature, indicated that tests do not generally take into account any of the following factors:

1. Cultural and environmental factors;
2. Variations in language (bilingualism);
3. Class differentiation;
4. Ethnicity--race;
5. Ruralism--urbanism;
6. Socioeconomic status;
7. Divergent learning patterns;
8. Emotional growth;
9. Psychological state at time of testing.⁷⁰

⁶⁹G. I. Sanchez, "History, Culture and Education," La Raza: Forgotten Americans, edited by Julian Samora, South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966, pp. 1-26.

⁷⁰Dr. Uvaldo Palomares and staff, "Examination of Assessment Practices and Tools: And the Development of a Pilot Intelligence Test for Chicano Children," First Year Results, San Diego, California: Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, 1972, pp. 6-7.

The concern of this study is with factors one and two. A review of the literature has indicated that an appropriate process for examining community culture has not been developed. There do exist a number of attempts in constructing tests which measure some aspects of Mexican American culture such as the "Enchilada Test" developed by the Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, San Diego, California, the "Cross Cultural Attitude Inventory," National Consortia for Bilingual Education and the "Barriology Exam" by Antonio Gomez. See Appendix B for sample of Barriology Exam.

It is intended that the process advanced in this study and the research instrument will fill in the obvious gap that exists in the area of cultural investigation of the Mexican American.

C H A P T E R I I I

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESS

This study describes a process for identifying cultural characteristics of the Mexican American population. Chapter III focuses on the process used to develop the research instrument. The research process is outlined and presented as a comparative paradigm to the Social Pathology Model documented by such social scientists as Stephen and Joan Baratz⁷¹ and Ari Kiev.⁷² It is anticipated that the use of the suggested Cultural Difference Paradigm will provide an alternative to traditional social science research techniques and approaches.

The paradigm incorporates a needs assessment conducted on a cultural subgroup and the formulation of a consulting committee to validate the assessment. It also includes the responses of the Consulting Committee in regards to the identification of cultural components and the design of a cultural inventory scale. Chapter IV will describe the field test of the instrument as used to identify the culture of the Chicano in Tucson, Arizona and present an analysis of data collected.

Research on the development of the Cultural Difference Paradigm originated from a need to respond to traditional methods of examining

⁷¹Stephen S. and Joan C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base for Institutional Racism," Harvard Educational Review, Volume 40:1, Winter 1970, pp. 29-50.

⁷²Ari Kiev, Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Psychiatry, New York: The Free Press, 1972.

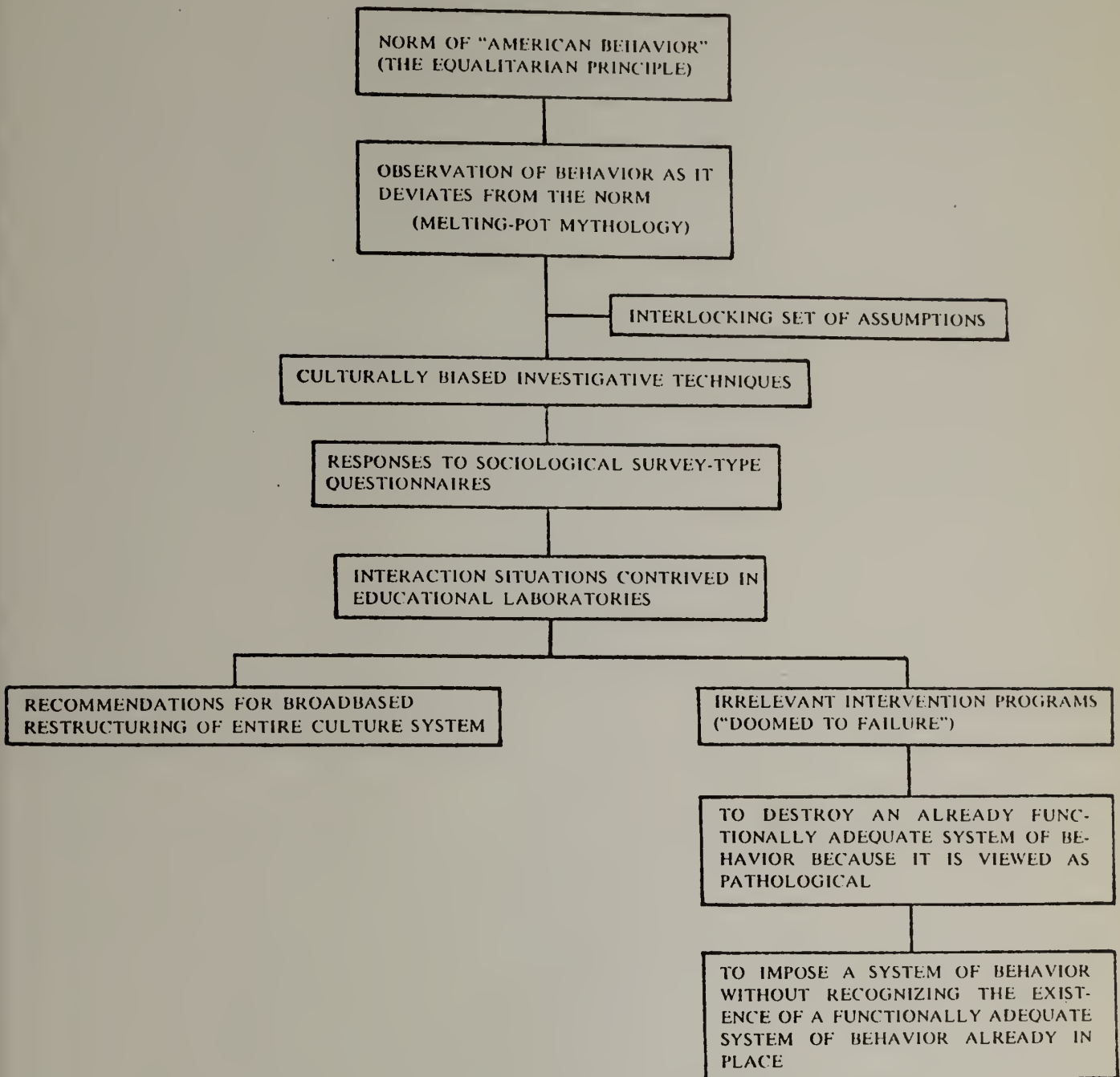
cultural characteristics which have proven inadequate, as documented in Chapter II. It has been shown that the social sciences through biased research techniques have provided support for programs which reinforce the premise that cultures of groups other than white, middle-class Anglos are composed of values detrimental to their children.

Stephen S. Baratz and Joan C. Baratz (hereto referred to as Baratz and Baratz) have done extensive research on methods used by the social sciences in investigating ethnic and racial subgroups. They describe the Social Pathology Model of investigation in their article "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism" and demonstrate how the theoretical base of the model denies obvious strengths within the subgroup community. See Figure 3A for an outline of this model. It is an assumption of their study that this weakness in investigation has the effect of promoting the annihilation of a cultural system which is not recognized or understood by most social scientists. They point out how research on Blacks has been guided by an ethnocentric liberal ideology which denies cultural differences and thus acts against the best interests of the people it wishes to understand and eventually help.⁷³

The Social Pathology Model as described by Baratz and Baratz has led social science to provide research data for the establishment of programs to prevent deficits which are deficits only when seen from an Anglo point of view. The failure of intervention programs reflects the ethnocentrism of methodologies and theories which do not recognize

⁷³ Baratz and Baratz, op. cit., pp. 29-50.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY MODEL*



* This model was derived from an analysis of the description by Baratz and Baratz of the traditional Social Pathological approaches to cultural investigation. See footnote 71. Their work was conceptualized by this researcher for comparative reference with the Cultural Difference Paradigm developed in this study.

the intellectual and social skills of the child. Baratz and Baratz also argue that the current scientific crisis will resolve itself solely on the basis of scholarly research and not ideology or polemic. They strongly urge that the basic assumptions of scholarly research be examined and models tried out that offer more successful and economical explanations. They hypothesize that only then can programs be created that utilize the child's differences as a means of furthering his participation in the mainstream while maintaining his individual identity and cultural heritage.⁷⁴

It was in pursuit of alternatives to the traditional methods of examining and identifying culturally different groups and their programmatic needs that this study was undertaken.

Research Background

On October 10, 1971, a meeting was organized by Interstate Research Associates (IRA), a national Chicano consulting firm in Washington, D.C., with Chicano educational leaders and representatives of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss major educational issues related to Chicano children and to solicit economic support from the RFK Fellows Program for the Rights and Responsibilities for Young Americans. See Appendix C for a program description. The chief concern of the group was the effect of American schooling on the Chicano child. It was their consensus that the school curricula undermines the very traditions and institutions

⁷⁴Ibid.

which heretofore have enabled Chicanos to withstand the pressures of poverty and economic exploitation. The outcome of this meeting was a commitment of administrative services by IRA and an RFK Foundation pledge of fellowship support to design a research plan to counteract these encroachments.

Needs Assessment

To determine the direction for this work, a nationwide assessment of 111 Title VII bilingual programs reaching the Spanish-speaking child was conducted in the spring of 1972. This was accomplished through a short, open-ended, mail questionnaire. See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire. The programs surveyed were in geographical areas of high Chicano, Puerto Rican and Cuban concentration. The questionnaire concentrated on issues such as staff composition, community involvement, staff in-service training and the inclusion of the minority cultures in the curriculum.

A sixty-four percent response indicated important approaches and attitudes present in the programs as well as reflecting some of the most serious needs and deficiencies as perceived by the project directors.

Staff Composition

One-third of the programs reported a Spanish-surnamed staff of seventy-five percent or above while at least five percent had a twenty-five percent or below Spanish-surnamed staff. Although the majority of programs had a well-integrated staff of Anglos and Spanish-surnamed,

only forty percent had an entire bilingual staff including non-Spanish-surnamed staff who spoke the language of the child.

Community Involvement

Eighty-eight percent of the project directors indicated a favorable community (parental) attitude towards their bilingual programs. The questionnaire did not inquire whether the community helped design the program or was reflected in the curriculum.

In-Service Training

All of the programs conducted in-service training either previous to the start of the program or on a continuing basis with eighty-eight percent of them including aspects of the Spanish-speaking culture in their training. One program sent their staff to Mexico for a workshop on Mexican culture. The majority of the project directors indicated difficulty in deciding on the objectives and composition of in-service training for teachers of bilingual education.

Culture Inclusion

Although thirty-six percent of the respondents felt that the learning of English was the chief priority of their program, all stated that Spanish-speaking culture should be preserved in this society. However, seventy percent of the programs used variations of Teaching of English as a Second Language as their approach. A significant ninety-two percent stated that there were important differences between the national, traditional culture and the Spanish-speaking child's culture as it exists within the context of Anglo-American society. Yet,

the most common vehicles for introducing culture in the classroom as illustrated by Table 3A were pictures, stories, music, games, holidays, food, dress, national symbols, folklore, and dances from the national culture (i.e. Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba).

TABLE 3A

PROJECT DIRECTOR'S RESPONSES
(CULTURAL INCLUSIONS IN CURRICULUM)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Music (Mexican)	19	33.3
Folk Art (Mexican)	5	8
Mexican Holidays	15	25
Literature (Mexican)	8	12
Dances (Mexican)	13	22
History (Mexican and Mexican American)	10	15
Games (Mexican	4	6

An analysis of the responses revealed the overwhelming perception by project directors that there is a significant difference between the culture of the Spanish-speaking child of the United States and the national, traditional culture. All stressed that culture must be included in curriculum. They added that Mexican American culture should be preserved because of its effect on the child's self-image and ability to function successfully in society. This clear disparity between an expressed curricular need and the inappropriateness of

materials used to meet this need, provided the rationale for selecting cultural identification as the focus of the research study.

Formulation of Consulting Committee

The next step was for the sponsoring organizations to assemble a consulting committee composed of recognized experts in the field of education for Mexican American children and in those disciplines most directly related with the effects of education on Chicanos. The Consulting Committee reviewed the original problem definition and provided a wider and more objective review of the assessment results.

The Consulting Committee consisted of the following members:

- Director of Bilingual Education, Lansing School District,
Lansing, Michigan
- Psychiatric Social Worker, La Frontera Mental Health Clinic,
Tucson, Arizona
- Educational Psychologist, President, Institute for Personal
Effectiveness in Children, San Diego, California
- Day Care Specialist, Center for Community Change and Interstate
Research Associates, Washington, D.C.
- Faculty and students, El Colegio Jacinto Trevino, Mercedes, Texas

See Appendix D for biographical sketches.

All of the members of the Consulting Committee were Mexican Americans. Thus, they were familiar with the customs, values and mores of the Chicano community.

The Committee and this researcher met and reviewed the assessment data, isolated major needs and decided on a method of response to the cited deficiencies. The group agreed with the program directors' position that Chicano culture as it exists today in the U.S. barrios

is different from Mexican culture. Nevertheless, according to the data collected, culture as introduced in the classroom is Mexico-related. Therefore, bilingual curricula as it exists at present does not positively reinforce the culture of the Chicano home. In fact, it imposes a false identity on the child while negating the environment of the home and life style.⁷⁵

Based on these conclusions drawn from the needs assessment, the Consulting Committee decided to concentrate its efforts on an approach to the need for describing or defining Chicano culture more efficiently.

Identification of Cultural Components

Having decided to respond to the need for cultural identification and description, a substantial portion of time was spent in brainstorming descriptions of Chicano culture based on the personal experiences of the Committee members. Family and environmental traditions and customs were related and recorded. The many items contributed were tabulated and classified into seven categories. The Committee agreed, based on their own varied research backgrounds, that the most representative components of culture are Medicine, Religion, Language, Family, Home, Diet, and Customs.

An eighth category, Attitudes, was added after a research report was made by Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, a member of the Committee. Dr. Palomares and his staff administered a similar cultural inventory scale as part of an Office of Economic Opportunity Seminar to study the testing

⁷⁵ Sylvia Gonzales, "Memorandum: San Diego Meeting," RFK Memorial and IRA, Washington, D.C., April, 1972.

of Chicano children. The scale was used to illustrate the positive and negative effects of the administration of familiar vs. unfamiliar test items within a competitive environment. The discussion which followed the presentation, as reported by Palomares, indicated that Attitudes are an important part of culture especially when a minority culture coexists with an alien, majority culture.

The Consulting Committee recommended that further research be conducted on each of the categories to verify their consistency with identified components of culture as described by the social sciences. The categories are documented through selected literature in Chapter II of this study.

Design of the Instrument

The Consulting Committee discussed the difficulties that any attempt at describing a particular culture would present. Topics such as regionalisms, urban vs. rural differences, length of residency in the United States, and the effects of segregation practices would have to be considered. The Committee suggested that a survey-type instrument encompassing the eight categories could best provide documented information regarding culture which could then be incorporated into a culturally-democratic curriculum. One-hundred and one items were constructed into a multiple choice instrument. A Personal Data Questionnaire was later added to the instrument to gather background information on the sample population.

Summary

Figure 3B is a paradigm of the steps followed in this study for describing a cultural profile of the Chicano community in Tucson, Arizona.

The significance of the Cultural Difference Paradigm as compared to the Social Pathology Model is that the paradigm originates from a recognition of cultural pluralism whereas the model stems from the academic premise of the "melting pot ideology."

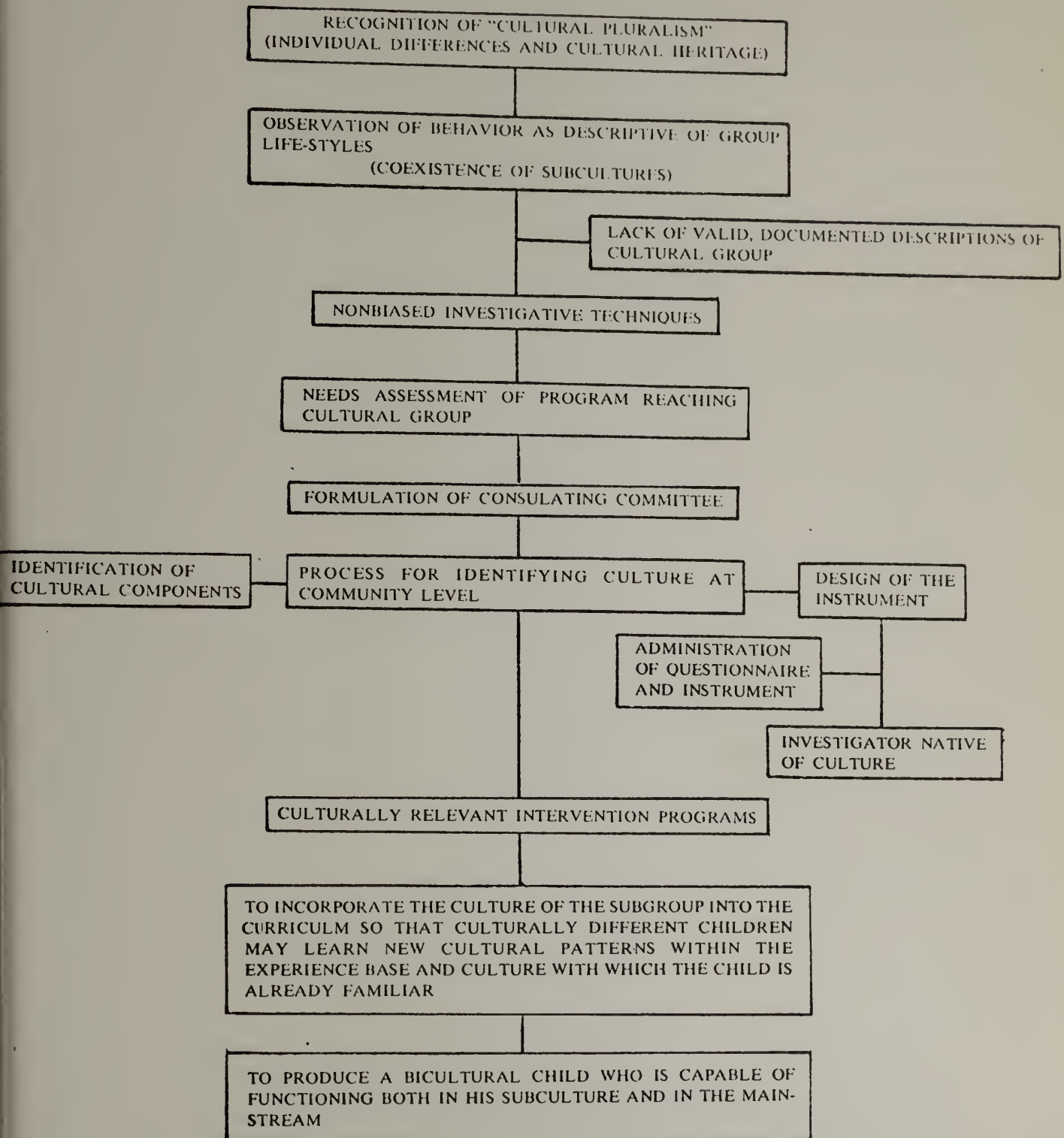
The Social Pathology Model of investigation derives from outside observation of a particular culture while the Cultural Difference Paradigm utilizes the community in describing itself. Although both processes use a survey-type instrument, the model selects its items from society's norms while this study's paradigm uses a community Consulting Committee for the construction of the instrument.

The Social Pathology Model imposes solutions or norms of behavior on the subgroup investigated regardless of the subgroup's values, mores and customs while the Cultural Difference Paradigm proposes that education respond to community needs in a manner consistent with an already viable system of behavior.

Chapter IV will describe the field testing of the instrument in Tucson, Arizona. This includes a description of the sample population, administration of the instrument, and an analysis of the Personal Data Questionnaire and Cultural Inventory Scale.

FIGURE 3B

CULTURAL DIFFERENCE PARADIGM



CHAPTER IV

INSTRUMENT FIELD TESTING AND DISCUSSION

Chapter IV reports on the field testing of the research instrument. The purpose of the field test was to explore the adaptability of the instrument for eventual wide-scale use in determining elements of Chicano culture in other communities. In no way does this one field test mean that the instrument is finalized. Rather, the data-gathering helps in modifying the instrument to be used with greater confidence and indeed shows whether it is an instrument that demonstrates promise as an alternative for analyzing culture.

This chapter also describes the sample population, administration of the instrument and a cultural profile of the Tucson Mexican American community resulting from data collected through the instrument.

Sample Population

The research instrument was administered to thirty-five adult Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. Information on the sample population was gathered through a Personal Data Questionnaire which was a part of the instrument. The personal data section of the instrument did not include questions on name, age or sex. Name was not included to insure anonymity. According to administrators of the instrument, age ranged from twenty-five to sixty years. Also, indication of sex could be inferred from questions relating to husband or wife responses by the subjects' underlining or crossing out of one or the other. This

tendency gave evidence to a majority of male respondents. Single men and women were also included in the sampling and they could also be identified in the same manner through husband-wife-children related questions.

There were three sources from which subjects were selected to provide for a legitimate spread of the Tucson Chicano community. The majority were from the Model Neighborhood Area (MNA). Approximately twenty percent were from outside the MNA. This selection took into account that almost forty percent of Mexican Americans reside within the Model Neighborhood Area of Model Cities and they comprise seventy-five percent of the total MNA population. However, the other twenty percent reside adjacent to the boundaries of the MNA and many of the characteristics of MNA residents apply to those immediately outside the area.

Because the Model Neighborhood Area is isolated physically from the rest of the city by the Santa Cruz River, a state freeway and railroad tracks, ethnic cohesiveness and identification predominate and flourish. Therefore, while Chicanos in Tucson have assimilated certain aspects of "Anglo" culture, it can be assumed that the majority have maintained their traditional culture which permeates much of their lives. Their loyalty to this culture and their common sense of belonging is one of the fundamental forces in this Chicano neighborhood or "barrio", thus making it an ideal testing location for cultural familiarity and retention.

Mexican Americans comprise approximately forty thousand or 16.4 percent of the total population of 243,881 within the city limits. The

Mexican American people of Tucson have roots deep in the history of Tucson. Therefore, it is a highly diversified community and many of its members occupy prominent positions and enjoy high living standards. However, documentation on housing patterns within Tucson indicates that the great majority of Anglos live on the northeast side of Tucson while Chicanos and other minorities reside on the southwest side of the city.⁷⁶ Regardless of the educational achievement of some Mexican Americans which has led to higher earning power, the persistence of this ethnic division in housing appears to indicate psychological as well as economic reasons may be involved.

Instrument Administration

The research instrument was administered through three municipal groups: The Citizens' Participation Center of Model Cities, City Hall mid-level administrative staff, and The City of Tucson Maintenance and Sanitation Division.

The researcher and two persons trained by the researcher, administered the instrument in each of the above-mentioned sites. The subjects were all randomly selected by the administrators. Directions were given verbally and in most cases, individually. Participants were instructed to respond from their own familiarity and not to consult or solicit outside help. Respondents were allowed to work independently without a time limit and within their own home, if they so chose. At least thirty percent of the subjects completed the instrument at home. All of the research instruments were returned.

⁷⁶ City of Tucson, "Community Development Program: Department of Community Development," Tucson, Arizona, 1970, (mimeographed report).

Although the administrators were trained by the researcher and instructions were given individually and with clarity, there was some confusion reported by respondents. In a few instances, respondents gave more than one answer or wrote in remarks on an item, thus effecting tabulation of data. There were cases where respondents wrote in additional choices thereby eliminating their response altogether from the data analysis. Therefore, it was decided by the administrators of the instrument that in future utilization or replication, a clear and specific direction sheet be attached to the instrument. This sheet should be in both Spanish and English. It was also suggested by the administrators that a set time and location be designated where subjects could be randomly selected and be administered the instrument in the presence of one administrator. This would assure consistency in directions, suggestions and answering of questions.

It should also be noted that this initial data-gathering was affected by the researcher being native to the sample population. Respondents expressed enthusiasm with the study to a highly personal degree and therefore, were committed and receptive to the instrument allowing for open and frank responses to the items.

Cultural Profile

The cultural profile of the sample population, the Mexican American community of Tucson, Arizona, originates from two sources: A Personal Data Questionnaire and a Cultural Inventory Scale.

The Personal Data Questionnaire was intended to provide educational backgrounds of parents, educational aspirations for children,

language usage and other background information on the subjects. The questionnaire was adapted by this investigator from the Parent Questionnaire on Bilingual Education developed by the National Consortium for Bilingual Education.⁷⁷

The Cultural Inventory Scale contains 101 items relating to cultural familiarity within the eight categories of Medicine, Language, Religion, Customs, Diet, Home, Family, and Attitudes. The purpose of the data collected was to determine familiarity and consensus rather than correctness of the response.

Personal Data Questionnaire

The Personal Data Questionnaire of the research instrument concentrated on parental information. In the following section, a narrative account will be presented on each question. The data analysis takes into account "no answer" choices of single men and women subjects on questions relating to husband, wife and children. This part of the research instrument is included in Appendix E.

As concerns educational achievement, the majority of the total sample (seventy-four percent) had completed high school. The lowest grade achievement was fifth grade for one person while twenty-six percent had completed at least one through four years of college. As reported previously, questions relating to husband and wife inferred a larger sampling of men than woman. It was thus determined that thirty-four percent of the husbands had completed high school while thirty-seven

⁷⁷ National Consortia for Bilingual Education. Tests in Use in Title VII Bilingual Education Projects, Fort Worth, Texas: National Consortia for Bilingual Education, 1971.

percent had completed from grades four through eleven. Where designated, twenty-seven percent of the wives had completed high school and twenty percent had completed one through four years of college. None of the wives had attended graduate school.

The reliability of the responses to "educational expectations for children" may be challenged due to possible confusion between questions three and four. In the first question, which applied to daughters, "finish graduate school" was listed as item six whereas in the following question pertaining to sons, items five and six were interchanged. Nevertheless, the expectations for sons were higher than for daughters. Fifty-one percent of parents expected their sons to finish college and fourteen percent expected them to finish graduate school. The positive response for daughters in the two items was fourteen percent for finish college and eighteen percent for finish graduate school. The investigator feels this is worthy of future study.

Concerning length of residency in Tucson, only five persons out of the thirty-five reported not having been born in the United States and all answered that they had lived in Tucson for ten years or more and had no intentions of returning to their previous country or city of residence.

Questions 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, and 23 related to language retention and usage by parents. On question five, sixty percent had received their education only in English while one person (three percent) had received his/her education mostly in Spanish. Eleven percent had received their education in Spanish and English equally. Question six again referred to husband or wife's education and language. Fifty percent had

received their education only in English, twenty percent mostly in English, while five percent had received their education only in Spanish and eight percent mostly in Spanish. Five percent reported having received an education in English and Spanish equally.

Questions nine and ten related to the reading of Spanish. Eighty-nine percent of the thirty-five respondents read Spanish and all thirty-five read English. As to husband and wife, seventy-one percent read Spanish while twenty percent did not and seventy-seven percent read English and eight percent did not.

Language usage between husband, wife and children are explored in questions sixteen and seventeen. Seventeen percent reported using only Spanish or mostly Spanish and twenty-five percent use only or mostly English between husband and wife. Forty-three percent used English and Spanish equally. In question seventeen, which treated language usage between parents and children, only eight percent responded to speaking only or mostly Spanish to their children. Forty percent spoke mostly or only English and thirty-seven percent spoke English and Spanish equally.

Although an overwhelming eighty-nine percent of the respondents answered that they watched only or mostly English television programs, many of these also commented that only English programs were available on the networks. This suggests adding to the questionnaire an item regarding the availability of Spanish language telecasting. Yet, five percent did answer that they watched only or mostly Spanish programs and another five percent that they watched Spanish and English programs equally. It can be assumed that some programming in Spanish was offered

by the local stations. Here it may be noted that an exploration of radio rather than television may be more revealing because of its greater availability in Tucson.

Culture identification and exposure were treated in questions fifteen and twenty-seven through thirty. Because Tucson is only fifty-eight miles from the Mexican border and all of the respondents are Mexican American, question fifteen was intended to reflect visits to relatives in Mexico or direct exposure to traditional Mexican culture. Fifty-seven percent responded that their family visits relatives outside the United States while forty percent did not. Question twenty-seven dealt with familiarity with and observance of Mexican holidays. Combining responses one and two, a majority ninety-four percent of the respondents were familiar with Mexican holidays while forty-six percent did not observe them as compared to fifty percent who did. Questions twenty-eight through thirty can be summed up in the responses to question thirty which was a clarification of twenty-eight and twenty-nine. Ninety-one percent of the sampled population reported that they experienced a combination of Mexican and Anglo culture in their homes. Taking questions twenty-eight and twenty-nine separately, exactly sixty-six percent answered yes to each. Thus, their culture in the home was in fact a combination of Mexican and Anglo culture which strongly reinforced question thirty.

The transmission of language to children was asked through questions one, two, eighteen through twenty-two, and twenty-five and twenty-six. Only six percent of the subjects' children attended a bilingual program. Therefore, answers to question two as to whether they expected

a bilingual class to be easier, harder or about the same for their children were widely scattered. Twenty-three percent gave "no answer," thirty-seven percent answered "about the same," twenty percent "harder," and twenty percent "easier."

In general, Tucson children spoke mostly or only English to their parents, brothers and sisters and their friends outdoors. However, the percentage changed somewhat on question twenty-one where at least twenty-eight percent spoke Spanish and English equally to their adult relatives. This category may have included grandparents and seemed to indicate a generational influence in the maintenance of language since question seventeen indicated that forty percent of parents spoke Spanish and English equally to their children.

TABLE 4A

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND EXPECTATIONS

Frequency and Percentage*

QUESTION	4-8	9-12	1-4 COLLEGE	GRADUATE SCHOOL
7	3(8%)	20(59%)	9(25%)	3(8%)
8	7(20%)	18(52%)	7(20%)	0
3		5(14%)	16(46%)	8(23%)
4			23(66%)	3(8%)

* Percentages do not always total because these questions include responses for husband/wife, son/daughter, and children where there may have been none.

TABLE 4B

LANGUAGE RETENTION AND USAGE

Frequency and Percentage*

QUESTION	S	M-S	E	M-E	E-S
5		1(3%)	21(60%)	9(25%)	4(11%)
9	31(89%)		35(100%)		
10	25(71%)		27(77%)		
16	2(5%)	4(11%)	3(8%)		15(43%)
17	1(3%)	2(5%)	4(11%)	10(29%)	13(37%)
18	1(3%)	3(8%)	9(25%)	11(31%)	6(17%)
19	3(8%)	1(3%)	11(31%)	9(25%)	4(11%)
20	1(3%)	1(3%)	13(37%)	10(29%)	4(11%)
21	3(8%)	3(8%)	8(22%)	6	10(29%)
22	2(5%)	1(3%)	12(34%)	11(31%)	4(11%)
23	1(3%)	1(3%)	10(29%)	21(60%)	2(5%)
24	15(43%)		14(40%)		

S -- Spanish
 M-S -- Mostly Spanish
 E -- English
 M-E -- Mostly English
 E-S -- English and Spanish equally

* Percentages do not always total because these questions include responses for husband/wife, son/daughter, and children where there may have been none.

TABLE 4C
CULTURAL EXPOSURE
Frequency and Percentage*

QUESTION	YES	NO	NA
15	20(57%)	14(40%)	1(3%)
27	33(94%)	19(54%)	
28	23(66%)	11(31%)	1(3%)
29	23(66%)	10(29%)	2(5%)
30	32(91%)	3(8%)	

Finally, it was asked whether the respondents' children watched television in Spanish and if they watched Sesame Street. Children watched as much Spanish on television as was available which complements question twenty-three and the majority watched Sesame Street. Sixty-six percent of the parents replied that they would like to see a Spanish version of Sesame Street for their children.

The purpose of the Personal Data Questionnaire was to provide detailed background information on educational achievement and aspirations, language usage and transmission, etc. on the sample population. This information provides further insight on the responses to the Cultural Inventory Scale. It was intended to expand the available literature on the Tucson Mexican American population.

*Percentages do not always total because these questions include responses for husband/wife, son/daughter, and children where there may have been none.

Cultural Inventory Scale

The data in this section is the result of the Cultural Inventory Scale found in Appendix F of this study. It is presented through narrative and frequency and percentage tables. Frequency of response for a particular choice indicates degree of familiarity with the items for this sampling. In seven of the categories, there are four choices available. Therefore, the four choices are presented on the tables. Narrative comments accompany each table.

For replication, it is advised that a pre-test conducted with three to five subjects would check for additions or deletions, terminology and clarity of items.

Medicine

The items included under this category referred mainly to folk practices described in the Review of the Literature. They included questions 5, 26, 38, 45, 52, 59, 66, 74, 83, 91, 99, and 100 of the inventory scale.

TABLE 4D

MEDICINE

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
5	35(100%)	0	0	0	0
26	21(60%)	0	5(14%)	1(3%)	7(20%)
38	0	1(3%)	0	32(91%)	2(5%)
45	2(5%)	22(62%)	0	5(14%)	6(17%)
52	0	1(3%)	1(3%)	32(91%)	1(3%)
59	0	1(3%)	3(8%)	29(82%)	2(5%)
66	4(11%)	0	24(69%)	4(11%)	3(8%)
74	33(94%)	0	0	0	2(5%)
83	3(8%)	18(50%)	1(3%)	7(20%)	6(17%)
91	0	1(3%)	30(85%)	1(3%)	3(8%)
99	29(82%)	6(17%)	0	0	2(5%)
100	6(17%)	3(8%)	6(17%)	4(11%)	16(46%)

It should be noted from the preceding table that question 100 had a high "no answer" response. It appears that the difficulty occurred in the use of the word "blanquillo" for egg, which is not common in Tucson. This was indicated by the number of written in responses

of "huevo" which is the word used in Tucson for egg. The confusion could mos- probably be resolved by a rephrasing of the question to read: A common cure for "mal de ojo" is. . . to obtain a more accurate rating of familiarity. Each of the other items had at least a fifty percent or above response for a particular choice.

Language

This category included items identified by the Consultant Committee as traditional Spanish, Mexican slang, Spanglish, and Chicano terminology. The questions represented on the following are 14, 22, 27, 28, 37, 44, 55, 82, 90, and 98.

TABLE 4E

LANGUAGE

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
14	4(11%)	0	0	30(86%)	1(3%)
22	2(6%)	0	0	25(71%)	8(23%)
27	1(3%)	32(91%)	1(3%)	0	1(3%)
28	3(9%)	0	20(57%)	10(29%)	1(3%)
37	0	0	0	33(94%)	2(6%)
44	29(83%)	3(9%)	1(3%)	0	3(9%)
55	0	2(6%)	31(88%)	1(3%)	1(3%)
82	1(3%)	22(63%)	0	12(34%)	1(3%)
90	1(3%)	5(14%)	2(6%)	6(17%)	21(60%)
98	23(66%)	0	11(31%)	0	1(3%)

This section presented the most difficulty for the Tucson population. Contrary to what was cited in the review of the literature and reported by project directors on the questionnaire used in the generation of the study, questions relating to Spanglish were answered with reluctance and with many written-in comments on the incorrectness of the items. In question ninety-eight, the literal translation for "estirar el pie" was chosen over the slang interpretation. However, rephrasing of this question may again be a decisive factor.

Question ninety refers to a slang expression "con safos" used in the Chicano movement. There was a sixty percent no answer choice to this question. Only six percent of the subjects were familiar with the term. Question twenty-eight (watchar) is a Spanglish term and the highest degree of familiarity was twenty-eight percent for "to look at." All other items had a particular choice of at least fifty percent.

Religion

This category referred to customs derived mainly from the Catholic faith and included questions 1, 6, 9, 16, 29, 32, 48, 60, 67, 72, 75, 84, 87, 92, and 101.

TABLE 4F

RELIGION

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
1	0	0	0	34(97%)	1(3%)
6	1(3%)	1(3%)	32(91%)	0	1(3%)
9	3(9%)	26(74%)	3(9%)	2(5%)	1(3%)
16	2(6%)	10(29%)	14(40%)	8(22%)	2(5%)
29	0	0	1(3%)	32(91%)	2(5%)
32	1(3%)	0	1(3%)	32(91%)	1(3%)
48	1(3%)	1(3%)	0	34(97%)	0
60	0	0	25(71%)	14(40%)	0
67	34(97%)	0	0	0	1(3%)
72	0	0	0	32(91%)	3(9%)
75	0	0	33(94%)	1(3%)	1(3%)
84	3(9%)	25(71%)	1(3%)	4(11%)	2(5%)
87	11(31%)	0	0	18(50%)	7(20%)
92	1(3%)	0	32(91%)	0	2(5%)
101	0	1(3%)	33(94%)	1(3%)	0

Question sixteen indicated several choices for the sample population. This reflects a variety of beliefs for the veneration of the Catholic saint "San Antonio." Also, item eighty-seven proposed a variety of conceptions about the use of the "arras" in a marriage ceremony

although at least fifty percent chose "the equal sharing of all possessions in marriage," which is compatible with the literature.

All other items indicated much consistency in choice of response.

Customs

Items in this category included favorite games, popular holidays and days of celebrations as well as other customs related by the Consulting Committee and the project directors' questionnaire as those introduced in their bilingual programs. They included questions 4, 13, 21, 31, 36, 43, 56, 57, 58, 65, 89, and 97.

TABLE 4G

CUSTOMS

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
4	5(14%)	1(3%)	0	18(50%)	11(31%)
13	33(94%)	2(5%)	2(5%)	0	1(2%)
21	0	0	35(100%)	0	0
31	0	0	0	33(94%)	1(3%)
36	0	0	0	33(94%)	1(3%)
43	0	34(97%)	0	0	0
56	9(26%)	5(14%)	6(17%)	10(28%)	6(17%)
57	2(5%)	31(88%)	0	1(3%)	1(3%)
58	28(80%)	4(11%)	0	1(3%)	2(5%)
65	0	0	0	35(100%)	0
89	0	0	0	35(100%)	0
97	0	1(3%)	0	33(94%)	1(3%)

There appeared to be a great deal of consistency in choices in this category. However, questions four (relating to what one sees in the moon) and fifty-six (using the hand in a particular manner for measurement) caused much confusion. It is the conclusion of this researcher that these are items that may be significant to traditional Mexican custom but are not as meaningful to the Tucson Chicano population. For neither question was there a choice over fifty percent.

Diet

The dishes considered most common to Mexican Americans by the Consulting Committee were included in this section. They include questions 3, 12, 20, 23, 24, 35, 40, 42, 47, 54, 79, 81, and 96.

TABLE 4H

DIET

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
3	34(97%)	0	0	0	1(3%)
12	0	0	0	35(100%)	0
20	1(3%)	33(94%)	0	0	1(3%)
23	1(3%)	1(3%)	27(77%)	5(14%)	0
24	0	0	28(80%)	0	6(17%)
35	0	21(60%)	1(3%)	12(34%)	4(11%)
40	0	0	0	35(100%)	0
42	14(40%)	10(28%)	5(14%)	2(5%)	4(11%)
47	0	6(17%)	0	26(74%)	3(8%)
54	33(94%)	0	1(3%)	0	1(3%)
79	31(88%)	0	0	1(3%)	3(8%)
81	0	35(100%)	0	0	0
96	0	0	1(3%)	31(88%)	3(8%)

The only dish which appeared less familiar to the Tucson population as indicated by the scattered responses on the above table is item thirty-five (nopalitos). There was lack of agreement as to what goes best with chiliquiles as shown in item forty-two. The Consulting Committee thought that because this dish is made from corn tortillas,

it would be uncommon to eat them with corn tortillas. However, the subjects seemed to like them with all the choices offered. A dish showing ninety-four percent familiarity to Tucsonians which is virtually unknown in other Southwestern areas is item fifty-four (verdolagas). All other items received a singular choice of fifty percent or above.

Home

This category consisted of the physical aspects of the home such as decorative preferences and location of favorite rooms. There is very little written on this subject as demonstrated in Chapter II, Review of the Literature. This category included questions 15, 18, 33, 39, 51, 53, 70, 86, 88, and 95.

TABLE 4I

HOME

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
15	0	0	35(100%)	0	0
18	5(14%)	27(77%)	1(3%)	2(5%)	2(5%)
33	34(97%)	0	0	0	1(3%)
39	2(5%)	0	31(88%)	0	2(5%)
51	3(8%)	23(65%)	1(3%)	2(5%)	6(17%)
53	16(46%)	0	17(48%)	0	2(5%)
70	0	0	0	34(97%)	1(3%)
86	27(77%)	2(5%)	4(11%)	0	2(5%)
88	0	35(100%)	0	0	0
95	6(17%)	9(25%)	3(8%)	1(3%)	16(46%)

The literature and commonly-held beliefs maintain that Chicanos prefer bright colors. Question fifty-one reinforces this perception while question ninety-five, reflecting the same conjecture, does not indicate this. A question of relative importance to the Consulting Committee was item eighty-six, the preference of the kitchen as a separate room from the living and dining areas. The sample population does not indicate this to be true. Several respondents wrote in that it is the main gathering place in the home which is consistent with the literature. Item fifty-three asked what is commonly found in most Mexican American living rooms. Forty-six percent responded to mirrors as a choice while forty-eight percent chose a radio. All other items reflected a fifty percent or above preference to a particular choice.

Family

This category included items on the extended family as well as intra-familial relations and attitudes. They included questions 10, 17, 49, 61, 68, 69, 73, 77, 85, and 94.

TABLE 4J

FAMILY

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
10	2(5%)	19(54%)	1(3%)	12(34%)	2(5%)
17	0	3(8%)	1(3%)	31(88%)	0
49	4(11%)	3(8%)	0	24(68%)	4(11%)
61	8(22%)	20(57%)	1(3%)	3(8%)	3(8%)
68	0	7(20%)	28(80%)	0	0
69	0	34(97%)	0	0	1(3%)
73	0	19(54%)	9(25%)	1(3%)	6(17%)
77	0	2(5%)	32(91%)	0	1(3%)
85	0	32(91%)	0	0	3(8%)
94	0	1(3%)	4(11%)	28(80%)	2(5%)

There are responses in this category which differ from the literature and commonly-held stereotypes of the Mexican American family such as items ten and ninety-four. Item ten relates to the treatment of boys in a Chicano home in contrast to girls. The literature states that boys are to be respected by their sisters, fifty-four percent supported this statement but thirty-four percent responded that they are not differentiated in their treatment. In question ninety-four, it was asked if fathers eat before others in the family. This has been described

in the literature as a common Mexican custom. Eighty percent of the subjects replied that it was their family custom to eat together.

Item seventy-three (compadrazco) offered two similar choices "a religious bond of friendship" and a "baptismal ceremony" causing a seventeen percent no answer response.

Attitudes

A significant category, attitudes focuses on self-perceptions of the Tucson Chicano population. It is significant because it indicates the sample populations' view of themselves as they relate to society. The questions are designed to examine feelings of discrimination, roles of Chicano males and females, and school success and expectations. Respondents were offered choices for some questions as in the previous categories, but the majority were "agree"- "disagree" questions. The data is meant only to reflect a sampling of self-perceptions for the Tucson Mexican American population. There are additional related and different items that could be included in future replications. The following chart represents questions 2, 7, 8, 11, 19, 25, 30, 34, 41, 46, 50, 62, 63, 71, 76, 80, and 93.

TABLE 4K

ATTITUDES

Item No.	Frequency and Percentage				
	A	B	C	D	NA
2	23(65%)	8(22%)	0	0	4(11%)
7	6(17%)	24(68%)	0	0	5(14%)
8	7(20%)	10(28%)	8(22%)	1(3%)	9(25%)
11	15(43%)	8(22%)	8(22%)	3(8%)	3(8%)
19	17(48%)	14(40%)	0	0	4(11%)
25	6(17%)	24(68%)	0	0	3(8%)
30	12(34%)	15(43%)	0	0	7(20%)
34	11(31%)	1(3%)	1(3%)	17(48%)	6(17%)
41	8(22%)	24(68%)	0	0	2(5%)
46	23(65%)	4(11%)	1(3%)	5(14%)	2(5%)
50	6(17%)	27(77%)	0	0	2(5%)
62	17(48%)	15(43%)	0	0	3(8%)
63	9(25%)	4(11%)	20(57%)	0	2(5%)
71	17(48%)	15(43%)	0	0	3(8%)
76	22(62%)	7(20%)	0	0	6(17%)
80	12(34%)	18(50%)	0	0	6(17%)
93	18(50%)	13(37%)	0	0	4(11%)

In general, Mexican Americans in Tucson prefer to call themselves Mexican American rather than Chicano (46). They replied that they are discriminated against (93) and that equal opportunity is not the same for Chicanos as it is for Anglos in the United States (50). Respondents believed that Chicanas prefer to stay at home than work (62) and believe in male machismo (76). They do not believe that education of the young is subordinate to duties of the home (80) but

have mixed feelings about their acceptance within the school environment (items 11, 19 and 34).

Summary

Chapter IV presents data on thirty-five residents of the Tucson Mexican American community who were administered the research instrument. This selected sample was examined through a Personal Data Questionnaire and a Cultural Inventory Scale. The instrument was used to present a cultural profile of the Tucson Mexican American. It is intended that the data presented, with narrative comments, will generate an interest in the necessity for collecting cultural information. Although the present study does not represent the ultimate in cultural research, it hopes to serve as a springboard for further activity in innovative, non-biased, cultural investigation.

A summary of the entire study, implications for its application to schooling and recommendations for further use in educational and cultural research will be made in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The purposes of this final chapter are to summarize the study, to give implications for education of Mexican American children, and to make recommendations for further research.

Summary

This study has sought to present a process for documenting culture. It is hoped that the type of study presented will help reverse years of biased and inaccurate methods of investigation used by the social sciences to examine cultural characteristics of non-Anglo populations in the United States. It has been shown that a deficiency in investigation which used traditional anthropological methods becomes more acute when a subculture exists in close proximity to another majority culture such as the Mexican American population of the United States. It was the intent of this study to provide an objective description of Mexican American culture in Tucson, Arizona and thus propose a process by which contemporary investigators of culture can correct and add to the literature on the Mexican American.

Early documentation of the Mexican American came from either a hispanic or Anglo orientation and was written primarily for readers of their own kind. Most of the compilers were either vocational or avocational historians, with the Anglo historians having strong input in the

field. Their works are often ponderous, academic and reflect the biases and concerns of the authors' period and constituencies.

If historical interest highlights the earliest accounts of Mexican Americans, then a continuing interest began to see the Chicano as a problem. The 1920's brought an Anglo awakening to the Chicano as an enduring social reality. From that time on, the Anglo became not only cognizant of the Chicano's presence but also perceived him as a foreigner, alien and ultimately, as a social problem. Thus, research on the Mexican American expanded to include education, folklore, music, immigration, literature, language, welfare, and culture, in general, interpreted from a norm of "American" behavior.

Interest in the Chicano transcended from an historical perspective to the social sciences in general and finally, to education. Education became an important theme of the early sixties. New programs such as compensatory education, bilingual education, migrant education, headstart, education for the disadvantaged, etc., gained considerable prominence especially with the stimulus of federal monies. These new programs, however, have a common ancestry with earlier social scientific work; namely, their approach is pathologic or problem-oriented. As it happened, these educational programs did not assume a positive approach because educators merely turned to well-established social science "authorities" for educational schemes based upon "objective" information on the Chicano student. Consequently, intervention programs on behalf of the Chicano have failed.

Taking into account this biased tradition of documentation and investigation of the Mexican American as a separate cultural group

within the United States, this study was an attempt to present a process different from traditional methods of investigating culture. The process is based on the premise of "cultural pluralism" rather than looking at subcultures as pathological because they deviate from the norm of "American" behavior. This study proposes a process for describing the Chicano culture as a functionally adequate system of behavior suitable of being incorporated into an educational program designed to respond to the needs of the subgroup.

Implications for Education

The process described in this study was initiated by and for the Mexican American community to provide them the necessary ammunition for educational changes at the local level. Designers of instructional programs, administrators, teachers and any other school staff having direct influence on the minority child must be made aware of his/her culture in order to more positively meet his/her needs. For this reason, an attempt to identify the culture is imperative. Inaccurate interpretations and descriptions would again lead to the imposition of false values and needs to the Mexican American student. The child's first exposure to the dominant society's cultural patterns, values, orientations, behavioral norms, etc., happens as he/she walks through the classroom door on the first day of public school. It is here where that child either wins or loses. . . . Positive identity, prospects for future success, a full and productive contribution to society are all affected and too often determined in that classroom. And, an extraordinarily high dropout rate for Chicanos is indicative of a variety

of racist, educational practices that is molding that child into a "loser".

Among the many racist, educational practices having detrimental effects on the Chicano child are testing with linguistically and culturally-biased instruments, relegation of large numbers of Chicanos to classes for the retarded, failure to utilize the child's native language for instruction and other discriminatory practices accompanied by failure to encourage Chicano parents to take an active interest in local school policy and teaching practices.

But clearly, the most destructive aspect of the schools' mistreatment of Chicano children is a curriculum which undermines their very traditions and institutions which have enabled them to withstand the pressures of poverty and economic exploitation. The problem is one of cultural differences and extends beyond local school districts to those institutions assigned responsibility for teacher preparation and training. The United States educational profession is Anglo-centric. Assumptions, values and aspirations implicit in teacher-training curricula and thereby, school curricula, have originated from the majority Anglo-American culture. Success for the pupil then becomes a function of assimilation. Language of instruction, lesson content, even pictures on the classroom wall of the "typical American family," are clearly the product of the majority Anglo society and their effect on Chicano children is devastating. They become "educationally disadvantaged" by a system which forces them to compete with Anglo peers within an alien environment.

It was with these issues in mind that this study was undertaken. It is hoped that the "cultural difference paradigm" as described in

Chapter III of this study will provide the necessary impetus and direction to encourage more innovative and responsive educational practices. More specifically, the data gathered from the process and Cultural Inventory Research Instrument can assist education in these areas:

Philosophy

School systems operate under a philosophy or set of attitudes, traditions and values which include the function of the school in society and its role in relation to culture. Its philosophy makes assumptions about how, when, where, and why children learn or grow. The school either values differences or destroys them, whether by transitional strategies or regressive strategies.

The process described in this study can provide the necessary cultural information that will help develop school philosophies responsive to culturally-unique learning, incentive-motivational, human relational, and communication styles of the child, whatever his/her culture.

According to this philosophy, the child has a right to a bicultural identity. To achieve this, educators can use the research instrument to help them create a school atmosphere which is flexible and responsive to the values, life styles and learning preferences of minority groups.

Governance or Policies

A school district is a system for decision-making at many levels. Its formal decision-making body is usually a Board of Trustees who derive their power from the laws of the state and the people of the community served by the school district.

Governance and policies also imply the decisions made about how a school program will be governed or controlled (i.e. its rules and regulations, its response to infractions thereof, etc.). These affect children, staff, parents, and the community as a whole. An often-cited example relating to Chicano students were instances when Mexican American boys were suspended because of over-long hair. Although current attitudes about hair have reduced this practice, a method for determining self-perceptions or attitudes among Chicano youth such as explored in this study may have helped a principal to recognize that the long hair was not only a response to conditions of poverty but an expression of rebellion.

Staffing

The schools' mechanism for identifying, recruiting, promoting and training of staff at all levels should be a dynamic catalyst for change efforts.

With knowledge gained through the process described in this study, teachers can be trained to become more sensitive to the cultural values and learning styles of Mexican American children. To achieve this, a district can develop what Ramirez⁷⁸ calls a series of Culture Matching Teaching Strategies, including such categories as non-verbal indications of acceptance, personalization in presentations, encouragement of cooperative achievement, cultural highlighting, and uses of spoken Spanish in the classroom.

⁷⁸Ramirez, 1972, op. cit.

Curriculum

A school district makes decisions about the formal instructional packages it will present to its clientel.

Data gained from the Cultural Difference Process and research instrument of this study can be used to design curriculum which establishes threads of continuity between home and school. Materials can be selected or developed to reflect the culture, learning and life styles of the community served.

Non-Instructional Needs

The school system must decide policy on areas such as nutrition, health, family counseling, and transportation.

Through use of the research instrument, an environment more conducive to learning and less alien to the child can be created. Meals can be offered that are familiar to the Chicano child's life style while examining and emphasizing their nutritional value. A teacher and/or counselor who is aware of roles and attitudes within the Mexican American family such as male versus female, responsibilities of eldest son or daughter, etc., can better assist the teacher, child and family when these familial patterns conflict with school expectations.

Extracurricular Activities

The school district devises a set of activities (clubs, sports, field trips, etc.) designed to complete its educational package and to meet specific objectives, usually focusing on the personal growth of students.

In most school systems, school activities constitute a major focus of community life, tending to reinforce community attitudes. A knowledge of cultural life-styles, family relationships and responsibilities as well as health and religious values and orientations will point the way for activities more compatible with the attitudes and feelings of the minority social group.

Community Participation

In addition to participation in the governance processes, it should be a goal of the school to include the immediate community in the educational process.

A common complaint of teachers and administrators is that they are unable to attract Mexican American parents to the school. Data gathered in this study indicated several reasons why "Chicano parents participate in school affairs less frequently than Anglo parents." The greatest number of respondents answered that language difficulties were the chief reason for their not visiting the school. A significant percentage responded that they feel uncomfortable with Anglos and that a greater work demand entailed longer hours. School administrators should take facts such as these into account when planning and scheduling parent participation activities. Have they provided for utilization of the community's language in school-community functions? Has the school initiated a program by which teachers and parents become co-designers in educational goals and objectives for the child thus relieving otherwise uncomfortable Mexican American feelings of alienation to the school? Because many Chicanos also come from a culture of

poverty, both parents may experience greater demands on their physical energies and oftentimes longer working hours due to the necessity for more than one job. Thus, they are unable to attend PTA or related activities on school-week evenings. What is the school doing to accommodate community needs? Are they utilizing home visits, stipends, community consultantships, weekend activities or other innovative means for meeting the constraints described above?

Pupil Services and Assessment

This includes such areas as the school's counseling and guidance program and its special education program.

Most recently, much attention has been focused on school districts' insensitivity to cultural issues in the implementation of special education programs. Several civil suits on the matter have been waged and won by culturally and linguistically different groups. Conversely, a whole reevaluation of school testing and measurement procedures for the culturally different child has been undertaken and continues. This new research and substantiated conclusions that standardized tests used in schools are culturally biased will release many Chicano children from EMR classes and special education programs.⁷⁹

Recommendations for Further Research

This study has suggested the importance of culture and its role in the education of the Mexican American child. Yet, as the study has pointed out, a viable process for identifying culture is lacking. The

⁷⁹Palomares, 1972, op. cit.

process presented in this study represents an attempt to respond to this need. The remaining section of this dissertation indicates directions for further research.

It has been the observation of this researcher that further investigation should be undertaken with the research instrument. In this particular study, sex was not indicated. However, as stated in Chapter IV, there was evidence of more male respondents than female. Analysis of the data collection indicated significant differences in educational achievement and aspirations between Tucson's Mexican American males and females. Discussion of this is presented in the Personal Data Questionnaire section of the chapter. This investigator recommends that the findings warrant further studies on cultural values, perceptions and attitudes of Chicanos versus Chicanas.

The instrument also provided insight into language usage, transmission and preference. Each of these merits individual and extensive research because of the importance of language in the transmission of culture. The Personal Data Questionnaire gave some indication of how much Spanish is used at home and with whom. Data analysis suggests the transmission of language by generations. The Cultural Inventory Scale demonstrated a preference of traditional Spanish over Spanglish or vernacularisms. Special attention should be given to factors influencing the retention of traditional Spanish and how much of a carry-over of this there is to culture.

Correlations between responses on the Personal Data Questionnaire and the Cultural Inventory Scale would also provide additional insight into a particular community. It may indicate the personal factors in

an individual's background and environment which most influence the retention and transmission of culture.

A most ambitious utilization of the instrument would be a national study taking into account the considerations included in Chapter III such as regionalisms, urban versus rural, etc. These could be incorporated into measurable variables for national application. Or the instrument could be administered individually with sample populations from various areas of the country and observations made on the differences in Chicano culture from state to state, urban/rural, etc., and the factors influencing these differences.

And finally, a transference of data gained from the adult research instrument to a child's picture relationship instrument could be made to verify how much of the culture introduced into the home is actually accepted and retained by the child.

The process presented in this study is an initial attempt at isolating cultural characteristics of the Mexican American. The study demonstrates a viable, practical method of responding to the need for research in culturally-related student characteristics and school compatibility. It now becomes the responsibility of the educational profession to carry on further research for the necessary institutional change.

In addition to the areas specified under Implications for Education, education must face the reality of a Chicano community that is rapidly developing a political consciousness and must realize the need for the development of accountability. This process of cultural examination can be expanded through further research as a tool for accountability to be used either by and for the educational institutions or by

the community as a check of accountability. The community can use the process for assessing their own needs and hold the educational institutions accountable to responding to these needs. Likewise, the institutions can use the process in identifying community needs and the research instrument in constructing a school environment more compatible with the student population.

The school and community should together conduct a needs assessment and make decisions on how best to respond to cited needs. A consulting committee should consist of members of the immediate community, particularly if cultural observation is the chosen method of response. This offers the ideal situation for educators to use the practical knowledge and concern of parents.

One of the dimensions for further educational research would be the adaptation of this process to the identification of the more subtle culturally-bound family-teaching-learning styles. Much exploration has to be done on the type of data-gathering instrument most applicable to this kind of process.

The educational system must also explore the distinctions between the Chicano culture and the culture of poverty. The utilization of this process could be further examined and refined to assist in making such distinctions.

Cultural investigation which truly involves the target population in its own descriptive process presents numerous challenges to the dedicated educator. This study was intended to attract the attention of educators to a process for collecting cultural information which differs from traditional methods of cultural investigation. Although adaptations

or replications of the process would be made consistent with the particular school environment, the research demonstrated data-collection which could be incorporated into a culturally-democratic school curricula and environment for the Chicano child.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Atencio, Tomas, ed. Entre Verde y Seco, Dixon, New Mexico: La Academia de la Nueva Raza, 1972.
- Casavantes, Edward. "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma," Civil Rights Digest, 3:22-27, Winter, 1970.
- Cardenas, Jose. "Mexican American Education: Today and Yesterday," Educational Resources and Techniques, Mesquite, Texas: Texas Association of Educational Technology, Summer, 1972.
- City of Tucson. "Community Development Program: Department of Community Development," Tucson, Arizona, 1970, mimeographed report.
- DeLeon, Marcos. "The Hamburger and the Taco: A Cultural Reality," Adapted from a speech given at the First Annual Conference on the Education of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles County, May, 1966.
- Dworkin, Anthony Gary. "Stereotypes and Self-Images Held by Native-Born and Foreign-Born Mexican Americans," Sociology and Social Research, 49:214-224, 1965.
- Forbes, Jack D. "The Mexican Heritage of the United States: An Historical Summary," Educating the Mexican American, edited by Henry Sioux Johnson and William J. Hernandez, Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1970.
- Gonzales, Rodolfo (Corky). "I am Joaquin," 1967.
- Gonzales, Sylvia. "La Chicana in Literature," La Luz, Volume 1, Number 9, January, 1973.
- Gonzales, Sylvia. RFK Questionnaire, Washington, D.C.: Robert Kennedy Memorial, 1972.
- Hernandez, Luis F. A Forgotten American: A Resource Unit for Teachers on the Mexican American, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1969.
- Holland, W. R. "Language Barrier as an Education Problem of Spanish-Speaking Children," Exceptional Children, 27:42-44, September, 1960.

- Jackson, Steve and Ron Klinger. Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory, Fort Worth, Texas: National Consortia for Bilingual Education, 1971.
- Lovato, Alberto. "A Tu Tierra, Brulla, Porque Esta No Es Tuya," La Madrugada, Volume 1, Number 1, Dixon, New Mexico: La Academia de la Nueva Raza, 1972.
- Macias, Ysidro. "The Chicano Movement," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: New American Library, 1971.
- Madsen, William. Mexican Americans of South Texas, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Mead, Margaret, ed. Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1955.
- Murillo, Nathan. "The Mexican American Family," Paper presented at the Mexican American Seminars, Stanford, California, April 3-4, 1970.
- National Consortia for Bilingual Education. Tests in Use in Title VII Bilingual Education Projects, Fort Worth, Texas: National Consortia for Bilingual Education, 1971.
- National Education Association; Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking. The Invisible Minority, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, Department of Rural Education, 1966.
- Padilla, Ray. "Apuntes Para La Documentacion de la Cultura Chicana," El Grito, Berkeley, California: Quinto Sol Publications, 1972.
- Palomares, Uvaldo et al. "A Workshop on Mexican American Housing," Mexican American Housing Patterns, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, 1971.
- Palomares, Uvaldo et al. "Examination of Assessment Practices and Tools: And the Development of a Pilot Intelligence Test for Chicano Children," First Year Results, San Diego, California: Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, 1972.
- Palomares, Uvaldo et al. "The Relationship of Mexican American Living Patterns to Housing Design," Mexican American Housing Patterns, San Diego, California: Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, 1971.

- Parsons Theodore W. "School Bias Toward Mexican Americans," School and Society, 94:378-380, November 12, 1966.
- Perales, P. M. "The Audio-Lingual Approach and the Spanish-Speaking Child," Hispania, Volume 48, March, 1965, pp. 92-102.
- Ramirez, Manuel. Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.
- Ramirez, Manuel. "Identity Crisis in the Barrios," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1972.
- Ramirez, Manuel et al. "Mexican American Cultural Membership and Adjustment to School," Developmental Psychology, 4:141, 1968.
- Ramirez, Robert. "The Woolen Sarape," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1972.
- Rubel, Arthur. Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966.
- Rubel, Arthur. "Concepts of Disease in Mexican American Culture," American Anthropologist, 62:795-814, 1960.
- Salazar, Ruben. Stranger in One's Land, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May, 1970.
- Samora, Julian. La Raza: Forgotten Americans, South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966.
- Sanchez, George I. "History, Culture and Education," La Raza: Forgotten Americans, edited by Julian Samora, South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966.
- Sanchez, Ricardo. Canto y Grito Mi Liberacion (y lloro mis desmadrazgos), El Paso, Texas: Mictla Publications, 1971.
- Santos, Richard. "From the Inside Looking Around, A Portrait, The Mexican Americans of Texas," Unpublished paper, San Antonio, Texas, February/March, 1970.
- Sapir, Edward. Language, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949.

- Saunders, Lyle. Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966.
- Simmons, Ozzie G. "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans," Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today, edited by Edward Simmen, New York: The New American Library, 1972.
- Spindler, George D. Education and Culture, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Mexican American Education Study, Report III: The Excluded Student, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Ulibarri, Horacio. Bilingual Education: A Handbook for Educators, Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico, College of Education, 1970.
- Wagner, Nathaniel N. and Marsha J. Haug. Chicanos, Social and Psychological Perspectives, St. Louis, Missouri: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1971.
- Werner, Norma E. and Idella M. Evans. "Perception of Prejudice in Mexican American Pre-School Children," Perceptual and Motor Skills, 27:1039-1046, 1968.
- Woods, Sister Francis Jerome. Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- Zintz, Miles. Education Across Cultures, Review Edition, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1969.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

RFK FELLOW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the name of the Director of your program?
2. Is your program separate or a part of the regular school system?
3. What is the Spanish-surnamed student population in your school district?

Spanish surname _____

Total enrollment _____
4. What is the total funding of your program?
5. Do you feel this is an adequate amount to conduct the type of program necessary in your community?
6. What percentage of your staff is Spanish-surnamed?
7. Are all of your staff bilingual?
8. Do you believe the culture of the Spanish-speaking child should be preserved in this society?
9. Do you feel that the priority of your program is for Spanish-speaking children to have a working knowledge of the English language?
10. Do you feel that the Spanish-speaking child should improve his Spanish-speaking abilities while learning English?
11. Do you use the TESL approach in teaching the children English?
12. Do the instructors use Spanish in the classroom?
13. Do the children use Spanish in the classroom?
14. Is the Spanish-speaking culture introduced in the classroom?

15. How have the parents responded to your program? (percentage)

Favorably _____

Unfavorably _____

Indifferent _____

16. Are the parents involved in any activities of the program?
(Describe briefly)

17. Did or will your staff receive in-service training?

18. Did any of this training include Cuban, Chicano or Puerto Rican culture? (Describe briefly and identify which)

19. Do you feel there are any significant differences in Spanish-speaking (U.S.) culture as compared to native country culture?
(Describe)

20. What attempts have you made to include culture in your curriculum?
(Describe)

APPENDIX B

BARRIOLOGY EXAM

by

Antonio Gomez

1. Laurel and Hardy were popularly know in the barrio as. . .
2. Duck _____ describes a hair style worn by barrio dudes in the 50's.
3. According to baby care practices of barrio women, tickling a baby will produce what defect?
4. Barrio tradition among youth has often demanded that students:
 - a. excel in school
 - b. do poorly in school
 - c. keep the group norm
 - d. none of the above is applicable
5. Pedichi and moocher have what in common?
6. Eating watermelon and drinking beer simultaneously is:
 - a. sexually stimulating
 - b. bad for one's stomach
 - c. good for hangovers
 - d. not an ethnic diet
7. What slang name refers to the older barrio dudes?
8. Large brown market bags have been used in barrio households for what purpose? How about one-half gallon milk cartons?
9. Complete the following children's chant:
De tin marin
de do pinque
cucara macara
10. Lowered, channeled, chopped, primed all refer to what barrio art form?
11. "Chanate" refers to what two things in barrio slang?
12. Barrio baby care practices require what procedures when a child's mollera falls?

13. If you had to assure someone of your sincerity or truthfulness, you would be most likely to say "lo juro por _____."
14. Many young men in the barrio have traditionally wanted to go airborne. What does this mean?
15. Sopa made from tortillas is called _____.
16. Juarez, Chihuahua, is across from what USA city, and what was the name of the strip of land from this city that was recently returned to Mexico?
17. Someone who is described as a lechusa is a:
 - a. lettuce peddler
 - b. leech
 - c. milkman
 - d. night person
18. The first Chicano to have a big hit record was the person who sang DONNA; what was his name?
19. A green carder is a person who _____.
20. Barrio myth has it that one who eats a great deal of salt will become like what kind of animal?
21. Capirotada is the traditional food during what time of year?
22. Those people referred to as manitos come from what part of the USA?
23. In rebote, when one is going to play the next game, the expression for this is _____ and that person must perform what function in the game that is in progress?
24. In the old barrio when a child would accidentally drop a piece of candy or food, he had to perform what ritual in order to pick it up and eat it?
25. The accidental dropping of silverware in a barrio household predicts what event according to popular belief?
26. According to the best in barrio tradition, if a bill collector comes to a house to collect money, the woman of the house will _____.
27. Mini-skirts were worn originally in the barrio by whom?
28. Halfers when used by the youths of the barrio refers to what practice?

29. Complete the following children's chant:
- Pelon Pelonete
Cabeza de quete
Vendiendo Tamales
30. Bicarbonate of soda is popularly known in the barrio as _____.

ANSWERS TO BARRIOLOGY EXAM

1. El gordo y el Flaco.
2. Ducktail.
3. A speech defect.
4. C. Keep the group norm.
5. Both describe one who asks for handouts.
6. B. Bad for one's stomach.
7. Veteranos--adults who have been through barrio warfare and usually no longer take part in gang hassles.
8. Trash bags and garbage containers.
9. Titere fue--a chant used by children to select players for a game--similar to "one potato, two potato," etc.
10. A customized car.
11. Coffee and black or dark person.
12. (Mollera refers to the soft spot on a baby's head.) Pick up the child by his feet and let him hang, head down--this in order to restore the shape of the head.
13. Mi Madre--"I swear by my mother."
14. To join the paratroopers has been a sign of masculinity and courage.
15. Chilaquiles.
16. El Paso--El Chamisal.
17. D. Night person--literally means owl, but it has been used to describe people who stay out at night and are up to "no good."
18. Richie Valens.
19. Has immigrated to the USA.
20. A burro with large ears.
21. During Lent.
22. New Mexico.
23. Tiene el teles--that person must keep score and referee the game in progress.

24. He would pick it up, dust it off and kiss it towards Heaven. This act would cleanse it from contamination of the devil.
25. Guests will be arriving.
26. Hide and not answer.
27. The Cholas or Pachucas in the early 1940's.
28. A demand by one to share in food, candy, etc. that his friend has.
29. De cinco y de siete--a children's taunt.
30. Soda del Martillo--Arm and Hammer Soda.

RATE YOURSELF ON THE CON SAFOS
BARRIOLOGY QUOTIENT SCALE

Barriology Examination Questions answered correctly:

25 to 30	Chicano Barriologist, o muy de aquellas.
20 to 24	High Potential, o ya casi.
15 to 19	Mexican American, o keep trying ese.
10 to 14	Vendido, o culturally deprived.
5 to 9	Pobrecito
0 to 4	Pendejo

Robert F. Kennedy Memorial

Rights And Responsibilities For Young Americans

A Living Memorial

The Memorial carries forward Robert Kennedy's deep concern for the young and the poor and provides assistance to carry forward his work against poverty, discrimination and personal despair.

Focused on high school aged youth and concerned with individual freedom, educational opportunity and active participation in community life, the Memorial works to find ways of helping youth make a decent life—a life of dignity and purpose—for themselves and other Americans.

Works with young victims of poverty and discrimination, helping them gain their rights as Americans, emphasizing their right to a good education.

Works with a wider range of youth, regardless of background, helping them learn about and act against injustice in their schools and communities.

Undertakes inquiries of major concern to American youth, particularly those

highlighting the right and responsibility of young people to work for a better society.

For these purposes the Memorial supports a variety of programs...

Action In Communities

Robert F. Kennedy Senior Fellows, young men and women work for a year or more in local communities to help young people. For instance...

Dan Bonberry director of the Owens Valley Indian Education Center in Bishop, California is working to improve educational rights of Indian students and to establish statewide Indian training institutes to strengthen organizations dealing with Indian education and health needs.

Jose Gonzalez administers junior and senior high school programs at Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco in Denver, Colorado, and serves as a bridge between the school and the local community.

Florine Henderson works at the Tri-County Community Center in Jackson, Mississippi developing a student rights handbook for black youth and surveying the causes of young blacks being pushed out of local schools.

Andy Pyatskovit directs a program of the Menominee County (Wisconsin) Education Committee, tutoring forty

Indian students in a new community school which he helped establish in conjunction with the national Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards.

Robert F. Kennedy Youth Fellows, aged 15 to 19, are at work in local schools and communities. The Memorial encourages youth to undertake local projects, hoping, by example, to encourage more young people to work for freedom of expression and against social injustices in their schools and communities. For instance...

Michael Hughes, 16, is working with Southwestern Indian Development in Phoenix, Arizona, organizing a citywide Indian youth organization. The students hope to combat the high dropout rate and lack of cultural identity among Indian youth.

David Lemus, 18, is Youth Coordinator for KBBF, a chicano owned and operated radio station in Santa Rosa, California. The station was established by the Bilingual Broadcasting Foundation with the help of a Senior RFK Fellow. David brings together Mexican-American youth groups for radio programming and training.

Telma Youngblood, 18, is investigating and translator for Familias Unidas,

a parents group involved in litigation over discriminatory tracking of chicano youth into non-academic and special education classes in Robstown, Texas.

Volunteer Legal Assistance is provided by the *Washington Lawyers Program*, sponsored by the Memorial. Lawyers in the nation's capital volunteer to consult with and represent local organizations allied with young people in attacking poverty and discrimination. Services have ranged from research into local school board elections and helping a chicano group obtain a broadcasting license to legal research into the problem of youths being forced from high schools in the South.

Inquiries Concerning Youth

Youth Pushed Out Of High Schools, particularly in the South, is the subject of a joint inquiry by the Memorial and the Southern Regional Council. Thousands of young people, largely black, are out of school in the South. Analysis of this problem is the focus of a report to be issued in the Summer, 1973.

An Inquiry Into High School Journalism has been launched by the Memorial. An independent citizens *Commission of Inquiry* is investigating why more young people are not encouraged to investigate, report and

act on important issues in their schools and communities. The Commission's work focuses on (1) censorship of high school media and public expression in high schools; (2) access of minority youth to journalism experience in the schools; (3) whether journalism in high schools encourages or discourages young people from careers in journalism; and (4) the extent to which young people are aware of the importance of a free and vigilant press. Students, teachers and administrators, lawyers and journalists are members of this Commission which has held public hearings throughout the nation. A national report will be issued in the Fall, 1973.

Future Inquiries pertaining to American youth and issues of deep concern to them and the nation will be developed as needs are identified and funds become available. Currently underway are plans to launch a national inquiry into youth needs for meaningful work. These plans grow from an increasing shortage of full, part-time and summer employ-

ment opportunities and the desire of youth for work which is of service to their communities.

In Addition

The Quality Of Reporting About The Disadvantaged is a major interest of the Memorial. As Robert Kennedy saw and listened to the poor . . . blacks, Indians, chicanos, Appalachians and migrants . . . so did the journalists who traveled with him. Some of these distinguished journalists established an independent committee to set policy and select judges for an annual *Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards Program on the Problems of the Disadvantaged*. Beginning in 1972 the committee encouraged entries from high schools, colleges and the "underground" as well as from established media. The committee receives staff assistance from the Memorial.

"This world demands the qualities of youth; not a fine of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, or the appetite for adventure over the love of ease . . . It is young people who must take the lead."

(Robert F. Kennedy, University of Capetown, June 6, 1966).

Board Of Directors

Robert S. McNamara, *Chairman*
Burke Marshall, *Vice Chairman*
Richard W. Boone
Robert Coles, M.D.
John Douglas
Frederick G. Dutton
Carlos Guerra
David Hackett
Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy
John Lewis
Rod Lewis
John E. Nolan
Charles Saunders
John Seigenthaler
Stephen E. Smith

Robert F. Kennedy Memorial
1035 - 30th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

(Tax exempt Public Foundation)
1973

APPENDIX D

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Consulting Committee

Frank Carrasco

Frank Carrasco, from Carlsbad, New Mexico, received his B.A. from Stanford University in Political Science and a M.A. degree from Antioch College in Bilingual Education.

He has been a Staff Associate with Interstate Research Associates, a bilingual, bicultural consulting firm, where he was researcher, data analyst and child development specialist. Most of his duties at IRA centered around researching, developing, analyzing, and serving as liaison with Day Care Associations.

Frank cooperated with the Center for Community Change as Field Communicator where he organized and conducted a national workshop for migrant organizations to review proposed model codes for daycare licensing. He also maintained communications for the Center with Chicano and Puerto Rican groups in daycare. He has also served as a resource person to the Spanish-speaking members of the National Task Force for Model Codes for Daycare Licensing.

Ms. Nelba Chavez

Nelba Chavez is a Psychiatric Social Worker born and raised in Tucson, Arizona. She received her B.A. in Sociology from the University of Arizona and her M.S.W. from the University of California at Los Angeles.

Ms. Chavez worked as a Field Probation Officer with the Tucson Pima County Juvenile Court Center where she won acclaim for her rehabilitative efforts on behalf of Tucson's youth. She devoted herself to the deprived youth of her community both on and off the job by developing services for young people such as educational scholarships, jobs, therapy, vocational programs and sports activities.

Nelba enhanced her professional abilities while completing her M.S.W. program through training with the Mount Sinai Division of Department of Child Psychiatry, Cedars-Sinai Medical Center, Thalian Center, Los Angeles.

Ms. Chavez's most recent experience was as a Psychiatric Social Worker with La Frontera Clinic, a low-income, predominately Mexican American mental health clinic in Tucson. She is presently completing her Ph.D. at the University of Colorado, Denver in psychiatric social work.

El Colegio Jacinto Trevino

El Colegio Jacinto Trevino was born of a desperate need for educational opportunity among Chicanos (Mexican Americans) in the Southwest. The concept of El Colegio grew out of a series of Chicano seminars on education held in Mission, Texas early in 1970. The decision was made to operate an independent learning center that would be responsive to a wide range of community needs, and that could experiment with new approaches to education for Chicanos.

El Colegio was staffed initially by young volunteers, some with college degrees, some students and some with merely high school diplomas. The first project undertaken was a series of classes for forty-five high

school dropouts and adults to prepare them for the G.E.D. High School Equivalency Examination. Classes included original units on Chicano culture and history.

With the assistance of Interstate Research Associates, El Colegio secured grants from the Office of Education of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Zale Foundation of Dallas. Additional resources generated included the donated time of Chicano professionals, educators, academics, and others willing to teach, and volunteer help from the students themselves. A working relationship established with Antioch College provided a major resource and a basis for academic program development and accreditation. El Colegio was legally incorporated in Texas in June, 1970.

Dr. Arnold Munoz

Dr. Munoz was Director of the Bilingual Education Program for the Lansing School District, Lansing, Michigan. He was born and raised in Arizona and received both his B.A. and M.Ed. in elementary education from the University of Arizona. He was awarded his Ph.D. in educational administration from Michigan State University.

Dr. Munoz developed the Bilingual Education Program in Lansing and also taught at the Mott Institute for Community Improvement at Michigan State.

He has taught fourth grade in a predominately Chicano school in Tucson (Sunnyside) and Adult Basic Education for Tucson School District No. I. Dr. Munoz was a major speaker at the Michigan Education Association Conference for Chicano Teachers and Teachers of Chicanos where he discussed "Ethnic and Cultural Awareness."

He is presently directing the Upward Bound Program at the University of California, Davis, California.

Dr. Uvaldo Palomares

Dr. Palomares, President of the Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, is well-versed in the fields of Psychology, Education and Intercultural Affairs.

Dr. Palomares' experiences are extremely diversified, including such extremes as college professor and migrant laborer, intercultural arbiter in Washington, D.C. and community organizer in California, and teacher.

Co-author of the well-known Human Development Program, he is master in the techniques of the "Magic Circle," wherein youngsters are encouraged to share their feelings and experiences in a low-pressure, supportive atmosphere. Thousands have watched Uvaldo demonstrate his capacities as an "active listener" with groups of tots, teen-agers and adults in the circles.

Dr. Palomares has made his talents felt in environments that range from individual classrooms to massive convention auditoriums--even including the floor of the United States Senate.

APPENDIX E

PERSONAL DATA QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do any of your children attend bilingual classes?
2. Do you think that it will be easier or harder for your children in the bilingual class than it would be in another class?
 1. easier _____
 2. harder _____
 3. about the same _____
3. How far do you expect your daughters to go in school?
 - ___ 1. finish elementary school
 - ___ 2. finish junior high school
 - ___ 3. finish high school
 - ___ 4. finish two years of college
 - ___ 5. finish college
 - ___ 6. finish graduate school
4. How far do you expect your sons to go in school?
 - ___ 1. finish elementary school
 - ___ 2. finish junior high school
 - ___ 3. finish high school
 - ___ 4. finish two years of college
 - ___ 5. finish graduate school
 - ___ 6. finish college
5. In what language did you receive most of your education?
 - ___ 1. Only Spanish
 - ___ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ___ 3. Only English
 - ___ 4. Mostly English
 - ___ 5. English and Spanish equally
6. In what language did your husband (or wife) receive most of their education?
 - ___ 1. Only Spanish
 - ___ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ___ 3. Only English
 - ___ 4. Mostly English
 - ___ 5. English and Spanish equally

7. Circle the last year which you completed in school:

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
- ☐ 2 years of college
- ☐ 4 years of college
- ☐ graduate school

8. Circle the last year which your husband or wife completed in school:

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
- ☐ 2 years of college
- ☐ 4 years of college
- ☐ graduate school

9. Can you read Spanish?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Can you read English?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

10. Can your husband or wife read Spanish?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Can your husband or wife read English?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

11. Did you always live in the continental United States?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

If the answer is yes, you need not answer questions 12, 13 and 14.

12. If not, when did you move to the United States?

- ☐ 1. Less than one year ago
- ☐ 2. One to two years ago
- ☐ 3. Three to five years ago
- ☐ 4. Six to ten years ago
- ☐ 5. More than ten years ago

13. Where did you live before you moved to Tucson?

- ☐ 1. Country
- ☐ 2. City or Town

14. Do you have plans to return to live in the place indicated in your answer to question 13?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

15. Does your family ever visit relatives who do not live in the United States?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

16. When you talk to your husband or wife, which language do you speak?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
17. When you talk to your children, do you speak English or Spanish?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
18. What language do your children speak to you?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
19. What language do your children speak when they talk to their brothers and sisters?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
20. What language do your children speak when they play with their friends outdoors?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
21. What language do your children speak to their adult relatives?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally
22. What language do your children speak to their young relatives?
- ☐ 1. Only Spanish
 - ☐ 2. Mostly Spanish
 - ☐ 3. Only English
 - ☐ 4. Mostly English
 - ☐ 5. English and Spanish equally

23. When you watch T.V., do you watch programs in English or in Spanish?
___ 1. Only Spanish
___ 2. Mostly Spanish
___ 3. Only English
___ 4. Mostly English
___ 5. English and Spanish equally
24. Do your children watch T.V. programs in Spanish?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___
25. Do any of your children watch Sesame Street on T.V.?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___
26. Would you like to see a Spanish version of Sesame Street?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___
27. Are you familiar with and observe Mexican holidays?
1. Familiar yes ___ Observe yes ___
2. Familiar no ___ Observe no ___
3. Unfamiliar ___
28. Do you feel your culture in the home is akin to Mexican culture?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___
29. Do you feel your culture in the home is akin to Anglo culture?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___
30. Do you experience both Mexican and Anglo culture in your home?
1. Yes ___ 2. No ___

APPENDIX F

CULTURAL INVENTORY SCALE

1. When a person esta de luto, they are:
 - A. In a happy mood
 - B. On vacation
 - C. Elegantly dressed
 - D. Paying respect to the dead
2. Chicanos are friendlier than Anglos.
 - A. Yes
 - B. No
3. A mixture of dough with a pumpkin filling is:
 - A. A biscochuelo
 - B. Una empanada
 - C. A tortilla
 - D. A tamale
4. What do you see in the moon?
 - A. A woman
 - B. A man with a hatchet
 - C. A witch
 - D. Mountains
5. La Mollera is:
 - A. A Mexican folk dance
 - B. The cranial soft spot of a baby
 - C. A baby illness
 - D. A typical Mexican dish
6. The vela is very commonly used for:
 - A. A suave for horses hooves
 - B. Commonly worn on the heads of women from Vera Cruz
 - C. An offering to a favorite saint
 - D. A period of abstinence during lent
7. The best teachers are Anglo.
 - A. Yes
 - B. No
8. Whom do you admire most?
 - A. Davy Crockett
 - B. Cesar Chavez
 - C. Geronimo
 - D. Angela Davis

9. When you find money,
 - A. You give it away
 - B. You spend it
 - C. You make the sign of the cross
 - D. You leave it where you found it
10. In a Mexican home, boys commonly:
 - A. Obey their sisters
 - B. Are respected by their sisters
 - C. Are not respected
 - D. Not differentiated in their treatment
11. Many school authorities have noted that Chicano parents participate in school affairs less frequently than Anglo parents. To what do you attribute this?
 - A. Language difficulties
 - B. Greater work demand entailing longer hours
 - C. They feel uncomfortable with Anglos
 - D. They respect the authority of teachers
12. Menudo is a commonly known Mexican American.
 - A. Song
 - B. Labor organizer
 - C. Drink
 - D. Food
13. A group of strolling Mexican musicians is called:
 - A. Marachis
 - B. Nachos
 - C. Conjunto
 - D. Tequila
14. Una chamba to a Mexican means:
 - A. Dance
 - B. Prayer
 - C. Bath
 - D. Job
15. In the Mexican home, you expect to see on the wall:
 - A. A series of pictures depicting ocean scenery
 - B. The great art works of Europe
 - C. A series of family pictures
 - D. An Indian rug
16. The statue of San Antonio is turned around when:
 - A. A person is angry
 - B. Young Mexican girls are seeking a husband
 - C. A precious article is lost
 - D. There is an illness in the family

17. In a Mexican home, the grandmother:
- A. Does not participate in the decision-making
 - B. Is there to care for her grandchildren
 - C. Usually does not live with her children
 - D. Is very highly respected
18. It is common to decorate Mexican homes with:
- A. Rugs
 - B. Doiles
 - C. A silver tea set
 - D. Books
19. The Chicano home environment is considered a ghetto by Anglo standards. It's crowded and lacks educational materials and playthings. Therefore, Chicanos often show aggressive behavior and lack the necessary experiences for conceptual development.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
20. A frijole is:
- A. A Mexican
 - B. A common legume known as pinto bean
 - C. A cactus
 - D. A Mexican soup
21. El 16 de Septiembre is:
- A. A Mexican corrido
 - B. A famous street in Mexico City
 - C. Mexican Independence Day
 - D. A dance from Zacatecas
22. Darle gas is commonly used among La Raza. It means:
- A. To fill your car up with gas
 - B. To turn on an oven
 - C. To give someone a gift
 - D. Go ahead
23. A Mexican soup is:
- A. Botana
 - B. Quesadillas
 - C. Menudo
 - D. Arroz
24. A Mexican dish which adds chocolate is:
- A. La enchilada
 - B. El tamale
 - C. Mole
 - D. Guacamole

25. As a Chicano, is it better to speak only English to succeed?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
26. Hedondia is used to wash:
- A. The feet
 - B. The face
 - C. Clothes
 - D. The floor
27. The Mexican slang for police is:
- A. Vendedos
 - B. Chota
 - C. Gendarmes
 - D. Chicanos
28. Watchar means:
- A. A watch
 - B. To wash dishes
 - C. To look at
 - D. Look out
29. Mandas are:
- A. A popular fruit
 - B. A commonly known female singer
 - C. A clothing item
 - D. A religious debt
30. Chicanos are more honest than Anglos.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
31. La siesta is a Mexican:
- A. Animal
 - B. Town
 - C. Dress
 - D. Rest
32. A posada is:
- A. A children's procession
 - B. A Mexican soup
 - C. A water well
 - D. A religious custom celebrated before Christmas
33. In the front of a Mexican home, you commonly see:
- A. Flowers and plants
 - B. Gravel
 - C. A statue of George Washington
 - D. A birdbath

34. What kinds of attitudes does the Chicano hold toward life which would tend to hold them back in terms of educational achievement?
- A. The Chicano lacks enthusiasm and confidence in the school environment
 - B. Is uncompetitive and therefore lacks the ability or will to compete with his peers
 - C. Chicanos come from large, close-knit families; they work more effectively in groups and are usually noisy in school
 - D. Chicanos feel they are denied their culture and language and therefore lose interest in the school curriculum
35. Nopalitos are commonly eaten with:
- A. Tripe
 - B. Beans
 - C. Tequila
 - D. Rice
36. El Cinco de Mayo is a Mexican
- A. Department store
 - B. Saint's day
 - C. Town in Mexico
 - D. Holiday
37. A Chicano is:
- A. A Mexican bird
 - B. A dance from Vera Cruz
 - C. A policeman
 - D. A Mexican American
38. Empacho is:
- A. A famous Puerto Rican baseball player respected by La Raza
 - B. The name for a Chicano pachuco
 - C. Being in the town of Pacho
 - D. A stomach pain
39. A common cover for sofas in Mexican homes is:
- A. A quilt
 - B. A large plastic cover
 - C. A Zarape
 - D. Several cushions
40. Enchiladas are:
- A. Food made with a tortilla and beans
 - B. A flour tortilla with beans
 - C. A corn paste with pork meat
 - D. Corn tortilla and chile with cheese

41. Most Chicano parents don't care about their children's education.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
42. It is uncommon to eat chiliquiles with:
- A. Flour tortillas
 - B. Enchiladas
 - C. Corn tortillas
 - D. Beans with tortillas
43. A quincienera is:
- A. A bracelet
 - B. A girl celebrating her fifteenth birthday
 - C. A time of abstinence during Lent
 - D. Fifteenth wedding anniversary
44. When you are left out of something, it's referred to as:
- A. Hacerse menos
 - B. Tirar al lion
 - C. Se te esconden
 - D. Te castigan
45. The curandera is:
- A. A Mexican folk legend
 - B. A para-professional doctor
 - C. A large bandage for a deep wound
 - D. A community health advisor
46. What do you prefer to call yourself?
- A. Mexican American
 - B. Chicano
 - C. Spanish American
 - D. American
47. A popular Mexican song which has the same name as a Mexican dish is:
- A. La Enchilada
 - B. El Burro
 - C. La Barbacoa
 - D. El Quelite
48. The Medallas are worn on a chain around the neck:
- A. To chase away evil spirits
 - B. For adornment
 - C. To cure rheumatism
 - D. As a sign of faith

49. Carnalismo is a Mexican word for:
- A. Cannabalism
 - B. A carnival
 - C. A military regiment
 - D. Comradeship
50. Is equal opportunity in the United States the same for Anglos as it is for Chicanos?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
51. What colors are preferred in your home?
- A. Blue and red
 - B. Yellow and white
 - C. Grey and blue
 - D. Blue and purple
52. Atole is the name of a:
- A. Female godmother
 - B. A slang term for match
 - C. Spanish name for the police car
 - D. A Mexican drink
53. An item found commonly in most Mexican living rooms:
- A. Mirrors
 - B. A dirt floor
 - C. A radio
 - D. Chickens
54. Verdolagas are akin to:
- A. Spinach
 - B. Apples
 - C. Potatoes
 - D. Beets
55. Parquear means:
- A. A park
 - B. A package
 - C. To park
 - D. To speak rapidly
56. When you hold your hand out straight at various heights, you are:
- A. Measuring an animal
 - B. Measuring a child
 - C. Waving goodbye
 - D. Getting someone's attention

57. Dar la vuelta is the Mexican custom of:
- A. Turning around once when you meet a friend
 - B. Taking a drive through the town
 - C. Dancing
 - D. Flipping a coin
58. When two friends meet, a common Mexican custom is:
- A. Dar un abrazo
 - B. To converse
 - C. To hit each other
 - D. To take off their hats
59. Canela is a well-known:
- A. Mexican town
 - B. Tree
 - C. Candy
 - D. Medicinal bark
60. When a child is baptized,
- A. The child is yours
 - B. The child is sick
 - C. The father is your compadre
 - D. It is a day of celebration
61. La familia politica is:
- A. A family engaged in politics
 - B. The family of the son's wife
 - C. A family in the same political party
 - D. Blood relatives
62. Chicana women prefer to stay in the home than to learn a profession.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
63. Lincoln gave equality to the slaves in the United States; Juarez gave equality to the peon in Mexico. Whom do you think accomplished more?
- A. Lincoln
 - B. Juarez
 - C. The same
64. It is perfectly legitimate in the majority of Mexican homes to eat a taco with:
- A. The hands
 - B. A fork
 - C. A tortilla
 - D. Bread

65. Visitors to a Mexican home usually are:
- A. Asked to leave
 - B. Asked to work
 - C. Asked to take off their shoes
 - D. Offered something to eat
66. Te de Naranjo is:
- A. A party drink
 - B. A perfume
 - C. A medicinal remedy
 - D. Orange juice
67. In the month of May, young Mexican girls go to church to:
- A. Offer flowers to the Virgin
 - B. Pray for the dead
 - C. Ask for a special favor
 - D. Receive an annual blessing
68. The name for the husbands of two sisters is:
- A. Primo
 - B. Cunado
 - C. Concuños
 - D. Parientes
69. A madrina is:
- A. A mother's sister
 - B. A godmother
 - C. A friend visiting from Mexico
 - D. Cousin
70. An article used for entertainment in a Mexican home may be:
- A. Drums
 - B. Saxaphone
 - C. A pool table
 - D. Guitar
71. Death is a difficult experience for a child. Therefore, they shouldn't be taken to wakes or funerals.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
72. A habito is:
- A. A party dress
 - B. Habitat for a person coming from Mexico
 - C. A bird found in Texas, Mexico and South America
 - D. An outfit used to pay a religious debt

73. Un compadrazco is:
- A. A hard blow on the head
 - B. A religious Mexican bond of friendship and affection
 - C. A baptismal ceremony
 - D. A Mexican party for relatives
74. Yerba buena is a commonly known object for:
- A. A medicinal herb
 - B. A positive phrase for a friend
 - C. A chicano corrido
 - D. A friendly greeting
75. The Lady of Guadalupe is:
- A. A title for a Mexican godmother
 - B. A Mexican day of patriotism
 - C. The patron saint of Mexicans
 - D. A woman from the town of Guadalupe
76. Most Chicanos accept the Machismo image.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
77. Padrinos are:
- A. Parents
 - B. Step-parents
 - C. Godparents
 - D. Father-in-laws
78. Yerba manzo is:
- A. A horse
 - B. A new car
 - C. A water animal
 - D. A tea to relax the stomach
79. Mole is:
- A. Eaten with chicken
 - B. An animal found in the ground
 - C. Eaten with eggs
 - D. A medicinal herb
80. In Chicano families, education is subordinate to family duties. Therefore, Chicanos are apathetic in school.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
81. A spice often added to menudo is:
- A. El frijole
 - B. El chilitipin
 - C. Mole
 - D. El sacate

82. Another word for coche is:
- A. Un sofa
 - B. Un carro
 - C. Una pistola
 - D. Un camion
83. Yerba Colorado is:
- A. Applied as a paste
 - B. Served as a tea
 - C. A town in the state of Colorado
 - D. Chewed
84. El Dia do los Muertos
- A. Recalls a famous battle in the Mexican Revolution
 - B. Is a religious feastday
 - C. Is the name of a famous Mexican movie
 - D. Is the Mexican version of Halloween
85. The word machismo describes:
- A. A machete
 - B. Mexican maleness
 - C. An after-shave lotion
 - D. A model of a car
86. In a Mexican home, the kitchen is:
- A. Part of the dining area
 - B. A small area in the back of the house
 - C. A separate room from the dining and living area
 - D. Next to the bedroom
87. The arras in a marriage ceremony signifies:
- A. That the couple will have money throughout their married life
 - B. That the couple will learn the value of money
 - C. Are used to pay the priest for his services
 - D. The equal sharing of all possessions in marriage
88. In most Mexican homes, there is a:
- A. Picture of Lincoln
 - B. Religious statue or picture
 - C. Colored television
 - D. An American flag
89. At Christmas, it is a Mexican custom to eat:
- A. Pavo
 - B. Nopalitos
 - C. Enchiladas de pollo
 - D. Tamales

90. Con safas is commonly found:
- A. In a typical Mexican dish
 - B. As graffitti on a wall
 - C. In a cough syrup
 - D. In a medical dictionary describing a mental disorder
91. Manzanilla is:
- A. A family name
 - B. A dietary supplement
 - C. A herbal tea
 - D. A Mexican apple
92. El dia de tu santo is:
- A. The day set aside to honor your favorite saint
 - B. A day in which you give gifts to your friends
 - C. The feastday of the saint for whom you are named
 - D. A day in which you eat special foods
93. Most Chicanos are not discriminated against.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
94. It is an old Mexican custom:
- A. For the mother to eat before the others
 - B. For the children to eat before the parents
 - C. For the father to eat before the others
 - D. For everyone to eat together
95. Mexican American people tend to respond to posters that are:
- A. Of sedate colors
 - B. Red and yellow
 - C. Black and white
 - D. With many horizontal lines
96. Along with other foods, many Mexicans eat:
- A. Tomato sauce
 - B. Wheat bread
 - C. Corn on the cob
 - D. Chile
97. La Piñata is the name for a:
- A. Mexican singer
 - B. Mexican folk dance
 - C. A Mexican food product
 - D. A Mexican party game

98. When someone estire el pie, he:
- A. Stretches a leg
 - B. Saddles a horse
 - C. Dies
 - D. His leg is asleep
99. Pulseras de Oro are used for:
- A. Adornment
 - B. To cure rheumatism
 - C. Curing the evil eye
 - D. Religious devotions
100. The blanquillo is:
- A. Used for the evil eye
 - B. A Mexican superstition
 - C. Name of a soap to wash clothes
 - D. A hair conditioner
101. La Bendicion is:
- A. A special kind of greeting
 - B. A Mexican farewell
 - C. A parental blessing
 - D. Holy water

APPENDIX G

MODEL-PARADIGM ANALYSIS

Social Pathological Model*

Social science research with minority groups has been postulated on an idealized norm of "American behavior" against which all behavior is measured. This norm is defined operationally in terms of the way white middle-class America is supposed to behave. The normative view coincides with current social ideology--the egalitarian principle--which asserts that all people are created equal under the law and must be treated as such from a moral and political point of view.

The application of this misinterpreted egalitarian principle to social science data has left the investigator with the unwelcome task of describing behavior not as it is, but rather as it deviates from the normative system defined by the white middle class. The total denial of minority culture is consonant with the melting-pot mythology and it stems from a very narrow conceptualization of culture.

Cultural Difference Paradigm**

The normative view wrongly equates equality with sameness. To say that a people have no culture is to say that they have no common history which has shaped and taught them. And to deny the history of a people is to deny their humanity. (Billingsley, 1968, p. 37)

Social science has refused to look beyond the surface similarities between minorities and white middle-class behavior and, therefore, has dismissed the idea of subtle yet enduring differences. In the absence of an ethno-historical perspective, when differences appear in behavior, intelligence or cognition, they are explained as evidence of genetic defects or negative effects of poverty and discrimination. There is almost no anthropologically-oriented field work that offers a description of what actually happens in the home where observation of behavior is descriptive of group life-styles. Observation of this kind would lead to the recognition of the existence of subcultures.

*This model was derived from an analysis of the description by Baratz and Baratz of the traditional Social Pathological approach to cultural investigation.

**Paradigm is used because this approach has not been empirically documented. Further field-testing is necessary to use it as a model.

Social Pathological Model

With the recognition of failures and limitations in programs with a social pathological base, proponents for intervention call for earlier and earlier socialization in the child's life. This stems from an interlocking set of assumptions.

The social scientist interprets differences in behavior as genetic pathology or as the alleged pathology of the environment; he therefore fails to understand the distortion of the culture that his ethnocentric assumptions and measuring devices have created. The picture that emerges from such an interpretive schema may be seen as culturally biased and as more typical of middle-class experiences.

- (1) Responses to sociological survey-type questionnaires.
- (2) Interaction situations contrived in educational laboratories.

Cultural Difference Paradigm

Because of biased investigation, there is a lack of authentic, documented descriptions of cultural groups.

Many social scientists believe that they are dealing with the culture when they describe the physical and social environment of the group. One must not confuse a description of the environment in which a particular culture thrives for the culture itself. This calls for non-biased investigative techniques.

- (1) Needs assessment of the main programs reaching this cultural group.
- (2) Formulation of a consulting committee (from the cultural group to respond to the needs assessment).
- (3) Process for identifying culture at community level (as described by the cultural group itself).

